

HISTORY OF THE GUHILOTS

(FROM C. 550 A.D. TO C. 1364 A.D.)

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PREFACE

The Guhilots emerged into the light of Indian history in the middle of the sixth century A.D. in the Southern Rajputana commonly known as Medapata in the Guhilot records and survived with varying fortunes for about eight hundred years from 550 A.D. to 1564 A.D. They played a very significant part in the life of early medieval India, not only in the realm of war and politics, but also in the spheres of social, religious and economic life.

Traditional stories variously trace the origin of the Guhilots to the Brahmanas, the Maitrakas of Vallabhi, the Persians and the Kushans. But on the strength of the combined testimony of the numismatic, epigraphic and literary records of the Guhilots, it appears that they belonged to the solar race of the Kshatriyas. Many incongruities in respect of the Guhilot genealogy have been removed and a fairly approximate chronology of the rulers of the dynasty has been arrived at in Chapter III.

Founded by Guhadatta or Guhila the Guhilot

kingdom, with its capital at Nagada, rapidly grew in authority and influence. The conquest of Chitoda by Bappa in 713 A.D. from the Mori king Mana, had far-reaching effects, for it resulted in transferring the centre of political gravity from Nagada to Chitoda. The dynasty rose to considerable political importance in 842 A.D. when Bhartribhata II (842 A.D. - 951 A.D.) by forming friendly alliances with the Rashtrakutas of Hasti Kundi and Pratiharas of Kanauj, without openly defying the paramount power of the Gurjara Pratiharas, brought the Guhilots into forefront. But the rising power of the Guhilots brought them into conflict with the Pratiharas of Kanauj during the reign of Allata (951 A.D. - 971 A.D.) who inflicted a crushing defeat over the former and killed their king, Devapala. By the year 996 A.D., however, the fortunes of the Guhilots suffered a serious setback at the hands of the Paramara king Munjaraja of Malava who destroyed Ahada and his

nephew Bhoja Paramara (1010 A.D. - 1055 A.D.) began to assert his influence in Chitoda. But the Paramara power was soon curbed by the Kalachuris of Chedi.

In the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. the Guhilots attained pre-eminence in power politics when Vijayasimha (1108 A.D. - 1147 A.D.) formed a coalition with the Kalachuris of Chedi and Paramaras of Naddula against the imperialism of the Chaulukyas who under Jayasimhasiddharaja (1094 A.D. - 1144 A.D.) had become by far the strongest power in Western India after the death of Bhoja Paramara. In the year 1174 A.D., the Guhilot king Samantasimha gave a crushing blow to the arms of the Chaulukya ruler Ajayapala. Samantasimha also marched against Mohammed Ghorī to save his brother-in-law, the Shakambhari Chahamanā Prithviraj III but he lost his life in the battle of Tarain in 1192 A.D.

The Guhilot power reached its zenith during

the time of Jaitrasimha (1213 A.D. - 1253 A.D.), Tejasimha (1253 A.D. - 1273 A.D.) and Samarasimha (1273 A.D. - 1302 A.D.). As a result of their protracted campaigns the Guhilot kingdom grew to enormous dimensions. The most interesting feature of this epoch is the struggle between the Muslims of Delhi and the Guhilots. Later on, the Guhilot power received a rude shock from the ever-victorious arms of Alāu-d-din Khalji who seized Chitoda in 1303 A.D. by killing the Guhilot king Ratnasimha. But the Guhilot kingdom revived its glories under Hammira who after the death of Alāu-d-din once more regained the control of Chitoda which was so vital to its political ascendancy. Such in short is the fascinating story of the Guhilot dynasty full of political vicissitudes and grandeur.

An attempt has been made in Chapter VIII to give a critical account of Guhilot administration.

The head of the Guhilot state was the king who was assisted by a council of ministers (Mahamatyas, Pradhana, Sandhivigrahika, Senani) and officers (Akshapatalika, Scribes or Kayasthas, Sutradhara, Pratihara and Bhisagadhira). The Mandalas and towns were administered by the Mahamandalesvaras (Governors) and Talarakshas respectively who exercised much powers in the affairs of the government. The fiscal administration was fairly developed and the Guhilot kings issued coins (Dramma, Rupaka and Karshapana) of gold, silver and copper throughout the kingdom. The standard of living of the Brahmanas, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas in the Guhilot society was fairly high and it reached a level of some magnificence among kings. One of the most outstanding features of the Guhilots was their wonderful spirit of religious toleration. Although the Guhilot kings were the followers of

Shaivism and Vaishnavism, the votaries of different faiths lived generally in harmony in the Guhilot kingdom and the eclectic tendencies of the times were remarkably reflected in the religious ideals of the royal family. A high level of economic prosperity prevailed generally among the people.

In the end, I owe special acknowledgements to such scholars as have illumined my path by their contribution on any topic dealt with here. I am grateful to Dr. Vishudhanand Pathak, M.A., Ph.D. of the Department of History, B.H.U. for useful suggestions. My thanks are also due to Shri L.P. Singh, M.A., Dip.Lib. Sc. of Gaekwad Library for occasional help in search of records. But above all, it is my prime duty to express my feelings of gratitude and regards for Dr. R.S. Tripathi, M.A., Ph.D. (London), Professor and Head of the Department of History, Banaras Hindu University, without whose constant day to day guidance, help and encouragement the work would have never been possible.

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MAP OF INDIA (Extent of Gumirot Kingdom)	

ABBREVIATIONS

- A.S.I.A. -- Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports.
- A.S.W.I. -- Archaeological Survey of Western India,
Annual Reports.
- B.G. -- Bombay Gazetteers.
- J.A.S.B. -- Journal Asiatic Society Bengal.
- B.B.R.A.S. -- Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society Journal.
- Beal -- Buddhist Records of the Western World.
- Briggs -- *Tārīkh-i-Firishat*, Translated by Briggs, Vol. I,
London, 1827.
- C.I.I. -- Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
- D.H.N.I. -- Dynastic History of Northern India by
Dr. H.C. Ray.
- E.I. -- *Epigraphia Indica*.
- Elliot -- The History of India; as told by its own
Historians.
- G.O.S. -- Gaekwad Oriental Series.
- H.I.E.D. -- History of India: Elliot and Dowson.
- Hodivāla -- Studies in Indo Muslim History.

- H.D.S. -- P.V. Kane, History of the Dharmasāstras.
- H.M.H.I. -- C.V. Vaidya, History of Medieval Hindu India.
- H.N. -- R.S. Tripathi, History of Kanauj to the Muslim Conquest.
- H.R. -- G.S. Ghosh, History of Rajputānā.
- H.T.S. -- On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India by T. Watters.
- I.A. -- Indian Antiquary.
- I.G.I. -- Imperial Gazetteer of India.
- I.H.Q. -- Indian Historical Quarterly.
- N.P.P. -- Nāgarī Prachārini Patrika, Nāsi Nāgarī Prachārini Sabha,
- New I.A. -- New Indian Antiquary.
- Nāsi Khyāta -- Munnot Nāsi Ka Khyāta.
- Prog. Rep. Arch. S.I. -- Progressive Report of Archaeological Survey of India.

- R.Gaz. -- Rajputānā Gazetteers.
- R.M.h. -- Rajputānā Museum Reports.
- Raso -- Prithvirāja Raso of Chand Bardai.
- S.G.A.I. -- State and Government in Ancient India.
- Tod -- James Tod, Annals and Antiquities of
Rajasthan.
- B.I. -- Bhavnagar Inscriptions (A collection of
Sanskrit and Prakrit inscription:
Archaeological Department, Bhavnagar).
- Sukra -- Sukraniti.
- W.Z.K.M. -- Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des
Morgenlandes also known as Vienna
Oriental Journal.
- P.V. -- Prithvirāja Vijaya
- Sachau -- Al-Beruni's India

TRANSLITERATION

The system of transliteration adopted in the text will be apparent from the following examples:-

आ	=	ā, e.g., Āhāda
इ	=	ī, e.g., Shīla
ऊ	=	ū, e.g., Arthūṇa
ऌ	=	ḍa, e.g., Chitodā
ॡ	=	ṇa, e.g., Utthūṇaka
म	=	t.m, e.g., Māthanasimha
स	=	ṣa, e.g., Sāṅkaragana

HISTORY OF THE GUILLOTS

(ii) The hills.

7

The hills of the Aravallis are the main mountainous range of Rajputana. They cover a distance of about 430 miles running from Delhi to the plains of Gujrata and extend far and wide elevating several lofty pinnacles, more than 4,000 ft. high that culminate in Guru Shikhar, the apex of Mount Abu about 5650 ft. in altitude in the south-west. Some of their projected ridges penetrate into Saurashtra peninsula raising a large number of summits here and there.

(iii) The rivers and reservoirs.

8

The Chambala and its tributaries make the principal river-system in this lower region of Rajputana. The former takes its rise from the cliffs of the Vindhya near Indore, enters Rajputana at Sitamau and flows about nine miles through Bhainsroda in Mevada. Amidst other rivers, the most important is the Banas which emerges from the south-eastern slopes of the Aravallis; receives a large number of rivulets viz., Menali, the Kotari and the Khari from the west as well as the Dhund, the Bandi and the Mashl from the north side and finally at Madhopur it joins the

- 9

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- 11

7. R.Gaz., Vol.II-A, p.5.

8. Ibid., Vol.II-A, p.6.

9. Ibid., Vol.II-A, p.6.

10. Ibid., Vol.II-A, pp.6-7.

11. Ibid., Vol.II-A, pp.6-7.

Chambala, of which it is the chief tributary. The south-east massifs of the Aravallis provide a secondary water channel from where the Mahi¹² and the Sabarmati flow south westward along with their respective catchments, the Soma and the¹³ Vakala and fall into the gulf of Cambay.

Besides, there are certain other water resources like lakes and reservoirs¹⁴ where water accumulates after a heavy shower of rains which is used either for drinking purposes or for irrigating the fields during the major portion of the year when the rivers get dried up.

(iv) The climate.

The whole plateau of this rocky tract is an¹⁵ upland with an average rainfall of less than 24 inches in the plains and about 30 inches on the mountains. The rains are quite irregular and fall during several storms. Their total amount fluctuates widely from year to year in Rajputana but the pours are heavy in Saurashtra. The annual range of temperature on the hills is not as high as it is in the¹⁶ plains but the weather remains generally pleasant throughout the year. Moreover, Mount Abu has an excellent climate and is a source of relief from the scorching heat during the summer days.

12. R.Gaz., Vol.II-A, p.128.

13. Ibid., Vol.II-A, p.8.

14. Ibid., Vol.II-A, p.11.

15. Ibid., Vol.II-A, p.11.

16. Ibid., Vol.II-A, p.11.

(v) The crops.

Owing to low rains and hard surface which shows a depth of about two feet of sandy loam overlying red pebbles and partially cemented gravel the proper cultivation of the ground is not possible and hence, an average yield of both the seasonal crops is much lower than that in the Gangetic valley in the Northern India. The crops¹⁷ of cotton, maize, sugarcane, Bajra, wheat, barley gram and linseeds are grown with great difficulty. Although we also come across some paddy fields round the ponds at the foot of the Aravallis where the earth is Matiyar in which the produce of wheat, barley, cotton and tobacco are comparatively high but the land-yield on the whole is tremendously low.

This scarcity of subsistence has tended the Bhils and aborigines of the forests to undertake a peculiar but detrimental device commonly known as Vallar¹⁸ in which, to our surprise, they procure ground after burning the jungles and till it with the ash thus produced for growing some inferior kinds of crops.

(vi) The forests and animals.

The course of the upper Mahi and Sabarmati Valleys is covered with a thick belt of intensely dark forests stretching over the south-west precipices of the

17. R.Gaz., Vol.II-A, p.44; B.I., pp.68,69; I.A.,Vol.LVIII, pp.161-62.
18. R.Gaz., Vol.II-A, p.42.

Aravallis to the Karm of Cutch and abounding in exorbitant
19 huge trees of mango, tamarind, Mahua, Teak, Conifers, Acacia,
Banyan, Shesham, Sandal, Neem, Behda, Anvala, Salar, black-
berry, bamboo, Peepal, Date, and Dhak supplemented by grass,
honey, wax, gum and resin that have well compensated for the
deficiency of the rich crops. These jungles are full of
enormous wild animals of variant species like tigers, pigs,
lions, sambars and bears.

(vii) The mines.

The lower fissures of the Aravallis preserved
20 a rich store of mineral ores such as tin, silver, copper, iron
and mica along with precious stones²¹ of garnet, chrysolite,
rock-crystals, marbles and the inferior kinds of the emerald.
22 Chitoda contained huge treasure of white and black marbles.
Although the extraction of copper and iron has been stopped
now but the precious stones are yet obtained from these places
(viii) The routes.

The girdles of the impenetrable forests and
the inaccessible hills of the Aravallis imposed considerable
restrictions on the free passage to the heart of Madapata and
the swift hilly rivers usually of little use for ferrying,
23 hindered the course of trade and travelling. Only the narrow

19. R.Gaz., Vol.II-A, p.10,44; B.I.p.103; B.I.pp.79-80.
20. R.Gaz., Vol.II-A, p.10,53.
21. Ibid., Vol.II-A, p.54; B.I., pp.68-69.
22. R.Gaz., Vol.II-A, p.53.
23. Ibid., Vol.II-A, p.5.

tracts on the hills and the sandy paths in the plains formed the chief routes where the principal vehicles of transport were the stereotyped bullock-carts and camels in those days. Although, some of the cities like Ahada, Nagada and Chitoda held vital control over the trade-routes on all sides during the ascendancy of the Guhilot power but the movement from one place to another was not an easy task.

(ix) The population.

The territories of Medapata were very sparsely populated in earlier times and even to-day except in the principal districts the population is below 80 persons per square mile. ²⁴ The hordes of the Bhils and aborigines ²⁵ live in the caves and the forests while the plains are inhabited by the people of the Aryan stock slightly intermingled with Scythians, Persians and Mohammedans. The overwhelming majority of the people profess Hinduism but the votaries of other faiths like Jainism, Buddhism and Islam have also lived there generally in harmony.

B. Its influence on human life.

Nature favoured the geographical position of the realm of the Guhilots and indeed made its ascendancy almost inevitable as soon as strong and wise rulers ascended its throne. Lying under the protection of the Aravallis and

24. R.Gaz., Vol.II-A, p.31.

25. H.R., Vol.III, pt.I, p.60.

the forests, it remained cut off from the other parts of the country and the result was that it could save itself from the personal feuds and fierce antagonism which prevailed among the ruling dynasties of India in those days. It held vital control over internal peace and solidarity and soon became the centre of ' culture and crafts, religion and riches, and power and politics'.

The physical features of this region had its far reaching effects on its political vicissitudes and life. Owing to low rains and hard ground the crops are few and are grown after strenuous efforts. This scarcity of food and its procuring at the expense of hard labour, have resulted in making the life of the people hard and difficult and naturally they have become strong and stout. Their work on fields has fostered in them a deep sense of self reliance and free thinking with which they are moulded into a simple, honest and straight-forward people by nature with the singleness of purpose as their national trait.

The hills and forests, however, have over excited high degree of daring and courage in the Rajputs for their game of hunting and have transformed them into a warlike people struggling hard between life and death, ever prepared to meet their end smiling with almost no hesitation. Their history stubbornly affirms that so long as they lived upto their ideals they were never pressed hard by their enemies nor were they subdued by the victor in humiliation

in the fields of battle but on the contrary they have constantly defied the storms of the foreign incursions with a spirit of constancy and endurance to which the history of the world hardly affords any parallel. Besides, the exuberant spots of beauty full of scenes and sceneries have infused in them a keen interest in art and architecture and have given ample impetus to the efficiency of artisans and sculptors.

The treasure of precious stones, rock crystals, marbles and other minerals has tremendously accelerated the brisk construction of strong forts, temples and caves that helped them in maintaining a firm defence against the invaders and gave sufficient scope for the growth and expansion of culture and religion of the land. Moreover, in different times, this inaccessible region far off from the foreign pressures, was a sanctuary to the hosts of indigenous people who, when driven from their original homes in the fertile plains in the North, looked to it for better safety and protection and migrated there to establish their settlements in various parts.

CHAPTER II

ORIGIN OF THE GUHILOTS

The Guhilots of Medapata emerge into the light of Indian History so suddenly that it is difficult to clear away the obscurity hanging over their origin. None of their numerous epigraphs directly connects them with any of the well-known lines of the sun or the moon, although it is worthy of note that they expressly mention the name of the family or clan and call them Kshatriyas. Consequently the origin of the Guhilot dynasty, which played an important role in the history of India in general and in the history of Rajaputana in particular, during the early medieval ages, has become, like that of other royal races, a controversial issue. Scholars are at considerable variance and have advanced in this connection four conflicting views of the Brammanic, the Vallabhi, the Persian and the Kushan origins which baffle completely a common reader. Therefore, it seems proper to make a critical but cautious study of our original sources - epigraphic as well as literary, and see how far it helps us in arriving at a definite and logical conclusion.

1. INDIGENOUS ORIGIN

(1) EPIGRAPHIC SOURCES

The earliest inscription which contains the first notice of the Guhilots is the Samoli record of Shiladitya, dated 646 A.D.¹ According to it, the forebear of the dynasty of the Guhilots was Gunadatta. Curiously enough, it does not

1. N.P.P. Vol.I, p.255.

credit him with any well-known ancestry but it record that Gunadatta's fifth successor Siladitya was a Kshatriya. This charter is amply supplemented by an inscription of Aparajita² dated 661 A.D. which also speaks of the same fact. Unfortunately, we find a curious break in the epigraphical record after Aparajita till the time of Bhartribhata II (942 A.D.), and at such a distance of time this omission, coupled with the scantiness of known details about them, causes us a good deal of doubt and difficulty. But the subsequent charters of the dynasty enlighten us on the subject to a very great extent and we are led to believe by the inscriptions of 942 A.D.³ and 943 A.D.⁴ respectively that their patron, Maharajadhiraja Bhartribhata II belonged to the solar race of the Kshatriyas. This proud claim of the solar ancestry is further strengthened⁵ by an inscription of Allata dated 953 A.D., wherein a famous Rashtrakuta Kshatriya princess, Mahalakshmi is mentioned as the mother of that king.

Next, it may be added that in Naravahana's⁶ panegyric, dated 971 A.D., preserved in the temple of Natha in Udaipur, Bappa is definitely represented as 'the Moon among the kings of the Gohil dynasty and like a jewel on the earth', and the solar ancestry of the Guhilots is well supported by the 13th verse of the same record when it registers 'the diffusion of the fame of Ragnuvamsha by the worshippers of the Ekalingaji from the Himalayas to the

1. E.I., Vol.IV, pp.31-32.

2. Ibid., Vol.XIV, p.157.

3. Report of Rajputana Museum, 1913, p.7.

4. Bhavnagar Inscriptions, pp. 67-68.

5. B.A.S.J., Vol. 22, p.166.

'Setu'. Although we need not attach any special significance to the above line of the mythical Raghu, for such legendary origins are often ascribed to ruling families to give them a noble and well-known pedigree, the alleged connection of the Guhilots with the solar race of the most distinguished Kshatriyas fabricated by early panegyrists finds ample evidence in later works. We are told in the ⁷Atapura record of Shaktikumara, dated 977 A.D., that Manarajadhiraja Bhartribhata II, who is recorded in the Partabgarh ⁸inscription of 946 A.D. to have made a perpetual land-grant to deity Indrarajadityadeva of Ghontavarsika in 943 A.D., married a princess of a well-known Rashtrakuta family of the Kshatriyas. There is a remarkable couplet in the colophon to this epigraph which gives us valuable information regarding the progenitor of this house and the place where the Guhilots of Nagada were settled prior to their eastern conquests. It records, 'Victorious is Shri Guhadatta, the founder of the Guhilot race, the delight of the families of the Brahmanas coming from Anandapura'. ^{8a}According to it, the first man of the house was Guhadatta, from whom the dynasty derives the name of Guhilot. Besides, our conclusion probably gains additional support from the provenance of Samarasinha's

7. I.A., Vol. 39, pp. 186-91.

8. E.I., Vol. XIV, pp. 176-186.

8a. I.A., Vol. 39, p. 191.

आनन्दपुर विनिर्गत विप्रकुलानन्दनो महीदेवः।
जयति श्रीगुहदत्तः प्रभवः श्रीगुहिलवंशस्य ॥

inscription dated 1278 A.D., where Simha, the son of Guhila is referred to as a Kshatriya. Further, the testimony of the court poet Vedasharma preserved in the Chitoda inscription of Samarasimha dated 1274 A.D.¹⁰ describes 'the Guhil once extending innumerable branches growing over the head of all kings, fed with the flow of water from the eyes of the wives of the enemies' and points out 'Guhil, who was as glorious as Vishnu ruled his territory with justice ... So the line of kings descended from him bore the well-known name of the Guhilot dynasty'. Again, the poet alludes to the prowess of the illustrious king, Shila, reminding us of, perhaps, his patron's ancestors, while he records 'even now when his (Shila's) name finds its way to our ears, it makes us forget the name of other Chakravarty kings of Bharatkhandas like Prithu and others'. Here Prithu and others, who belong to the legendary solar line seem to lay sufficient stress upon Guhilot's solar ancestry.

Further, support for the solar origin of this dynasty may be quoted from another inscription of the same ruler, Samarasimha, dated 1285 A.D.¹¹ and discovered at Mount Abu. It is supposed to detail the victories achieved by the rulers of this family, but its value is somewhat vitiated by the dubious character of its testimony and

9. I.A., Vol. XXXIX, pp. 186-191; R.M.R., 1935, p. 3; J.A.S.B., Vol. LV, pt. I, pp. 18 and 48.
 10. B.I., p. 79.
 11. I.A., Vol. XVI, pp. 47-51.

introduces no small element of doubt into the whole theme, But, in my opinion, this record affords us a distinct clue to the puzzle while it registers 'assuredly from Brahma-like Harita Bappak obtained in the shape of an anklet, the lustre of a Kshatriya'. The 12th verse of the same record affords similar testimony to the fact that 'the son of Bappaka, a master in politics, became king and was called Guhil; the race bearing whose name is verily continued by kings born in his family'. We cannot, however, be quite definite about this attribution, since the above is open to certain objections. First, this record wrongly represents Guhila as son of Bappa. Secondly it shows a little digression from the truth in assigning a place to Guhila in the genealogy of the house. But the evidence of the references contained therein shows that in both of them, although the name Guhilot is derived from different memorable coincidences, the point common to both is that the clan is said to be descended from the same hero Guhila. Lastly, we may take into account the evidence of the later inscriptions of the dynasty. The Ekalingaji inscription of 1429¹² A.D., belonging to the reign of Mokala, eulogises the family of king Guhila as 'very just' and tells us that 'in that family was born king Arisimha, who had eyes powerful enough to gaze at the lustre of the

12. B.I., pp.96-111.

planets in the form of the brave Kshatriyas'. The Ranapura record of 1439 A.D.¹³ and the Kumbhalagarh inscription of 1460 A.D.¹⁴, both belonging to the reign of Kumbhakarna, credit the same Guhila having founded the royal lineage of the Guhilots. Another inscription of Ekalingaji, which was repaired by Rayamalla in 1489 A.D.¹⁵, presents Kshetrasimha, son of Hammira as 'the field of the duties of a Kshatriya' and extols him in hyperbolic terms as 'the lord of the Kshatriyas'. That the Guhilots belong to the solar stock is further confirmed by the Narlai inscriptions dated 1540 A.D.¹⁶, which says, 'now here in the country of Medapata in the family of Siladitya who was the king of kings and belonged to the solar dynasty in the family of the great kings, Shri Guhadatta and others etc.' Similarly evidence for the claim of the solar origin of the Guhilots may also be found in the stone inscription of Rayasagara Talao dated 1675 A.D.¹⁷, which draws a line of kings from legendary Narayana in the solar race.

Apart from this, we may also consider the sign (+) of the sun on the hoard of the Guhilot coins (Bappas gold coins) discovered in Mewada. Regarding the importance

13. B.I., pp. 114-15.

14. N.P.P., Part I, p.275.

15. B.I., pp.117-133.

16. Ibid., p.140.

17. Ibid., pp. 145-54.

of this emblem carved on the gold coin of Bappa, M.M.Gauri-
shankar Ojha^{- 18} rightly observes, 'It is the symbolic of the
sun to commemorate the distinguished solar descent of the
Guhilots'.

Thus the first inscription of the line and the
Atapura record describe Guhadatta as the originator of the
Guhilots. The subsequent charters associate the founder with
the solar race of the Aryans. The last epigraph of Raya-
Sagara Talao goes still further and links the dynasty of the
Guhilots with the mythical race of the Kshatriyas. So all
this evidence is unanimous in assigning to this dynasty an
origin as old as the race of the Aryans and call it a branch
of solar race of the Kshatriyas.

(11) Literary evidence

The literary sources dwelling on the origin of
this dynasty are quite meagre and we are left to grope in
the dark except for the uncertain light thrown by the bardic
chronicles and poems. Thoroughly permeated with the idea
of the unreality of material things, the bards and poets of
the early Kshatriya age have seldom cared to mark the 'foot-
prints which kings and dynasties left upon the sands of time'.
Their later attempts - the Ekalinga-Manatmya, the Ekalinga

18. N.P.P., Vol.I, p.275.

Purāṇa, the Prasasti of Punjā, the Khyāta of Nānsī, the Khummaṇa Raso, the Raja Ratnakara, the Raja Vilasa and the Rajaprasasti-Mahākavya - are veritable mines of information for their religious and social life, but as chronicles of political events they seem lamentably full of tale-telling and chronological absurdities. Therefore, it is our object in the following pages to glean the kernel of historical facts from these authorities by winnowing as far as possible the outer husks of legends.

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The earliest literary authority, the Ekalinga-Mahatmya, composed to sing the glories of king Kumbhakarna (1439 A.D. - 1460 A.D.) speaks of the solar ancestry of the Guhilot dynasty. The Ekalinga-Purana composed in 1460 A.D. also alludes to the same fact and represents a Guhilot king Ksetrasimha as 'the field of the duties of a Kshatriya'.¹⁹

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The Prasasti of Punjā, discovered by Manohar-dasa in 1650 A.D., traces the origin of the dynasty to the sun, implying that it was connected with the ancient solar race of Kshatriyas.

Traditional stories also trace the origin of the Guhilots to the solar branch of the Kshatriyas. According

19. N.P.P., Vol.1, p.272.

20. B.I., pp.117-137.

21. Khyāta of Nānsī, Vol.I, p.13.

to one legend, originally given by the bard Nānsī (1611 A.D. - 1671 A.D.)²², the Guhilots were descended from Guhadatta. He states 'one of the ancestors of Guhadatta, hailing from Nasika-Tryambaka and having no son worshipped the sun. The deity appeared before the king and told him to visit the Ambadevi. The king along with his wife soon went on a pilgrimage to the temple of the goddess to pay her due oblations. While returning from the temple they were suddenly attacked by their kinsmen. The king lost his life in the turmoil but the queen was saved. Later on she gave birth to a child in a cave and presented the infant to a Brahmana Vijayaditya'. The baby thus born came to be called as cave-born or Guhadatta and his descendants derive the name Guhilots after him.

Though this story presents a very interesting account of the foundation of the Guhilot dynasty, I venture to say that the nature of its theme itself does not allow us to give it any substantial measure of credence. It reads more like fiction than sober history. To our mind its value lies only in its traditional acceptance of Guhadatta as belonging to the Kshatriya race.

The only recension of the epic of the Guhilot

22. Khyāta of Nānsī, Vol.I, p.10.

dynasty, the copy of ^{- 23}Khummāna Raso of Dalapati Vijaya
(a court bard of king ⁻Rajasimha 1673 A.D. - 1703 A.D.),
sings the praise of ⁻Khummāna II and contains only a passing
reference to the Guhilot ancestry. It traces its origin to
the mythical Rama of the sacred literature, Ramayana and
connects the house with the line of the sun. The Raja
^{- 24}Ratnakara of ⁻Sadasiva Bhatta and the Raja ^{- 25}Vilasa of
⁻Manakubesvara, both written in the reign of ⁻Rajasimha
(1673 A.D. - 1703 A.D.) also supplement the above records
and call the Guhilots as the solar ^{- 26}Kshatriyas. Besides,
according to the ⁻Rajaprasasti Mahakavya of ⁻Rinachhoda, a
⁻Brahmana poet of ⁻Rajasimha's court (1673 A.D. - 1703 A.D.)
the progenitor of the ancient royal lineages was the
mythical ⁻Manu-Vaivasvata. The second canto of this book
contains a detailed and graphic account of the legendary
ancestors of the Guhilots, e.g., ⁻Narayana, ⁻Brahma, ⁻Marichi
(sun), ⁻Kashyapa, ⁻Manu-Vaivasvata, ⁻Raghu, ⁻Rama, ⁻Vijayabhupa.
It remarks 'kings commencing with Manu and ending with
⁻Vijayabhupa became heroes' and mentions that ⁻Gunadatta was

23. N.P.P. Vol.20, Vs. 44, p.388.

24. Tod. Rajasthan (Kegan Paul Edn.), Vol.I, p.175.

25. Ibid., Vol.I, p.175.

26. I.A., Vol.L IX, pp.335-37; B.I., pp.145-54.

the thirteenth ruler after Vijayabhūpa. It further records 'then all sons of Guhadatta came to be called Guhilots'.

Lastly, even the Muslim authority like Tarikh-i-Firishta^{- 27} points to the kings of this dynasty as belonging to the race of the sun and speaks high of the line of the Kshatriyas to which the Rānas (Guhilots) of Udaipura belonged.

Thus we are inclined to agree with the evidence of the inscriptions and literary sources to link the Guhilots with the solar race of the Kshatriyas.

2. Some theories of Guhilot origin examined afresh

When we come down to the 18th century and onward we find an altogether different story about the Guhilot origin. Indigenous historians influenced by foreign writers such as Sir Thomas Roe, Col. Tod and others began to weave a new texture in the form of either Brāhmanic, or the Vallabhi, or the Persian, or the Kushan origin of this dynasty. The alien tendency that was responsible for the evolution of new stories captured the imagination of the people more than

27. Briggs: Firishta, Vol.I, p.327; Vira Vinoda, Vol.I, p.229.

anything else and a court bard of king Sajjana Singh(1074 A.D.)²⁸ fell victim to it, as a result of which he in his Vira Vinoda depicts Guhadatta as a scion of the Maitraka family of Vallabhi. Although, this statement, as we shall later on see, does not contain any grain of truth, its value in its usual recognition of the Guhilots as the Kshatriyas of the solar race appears quite true. It seems most probable that owing to the long and destructive struggle of the Guhilots against the Muslims and their ultimate political bondage made their bards and poets forget, if not completely at least partially, their origin, who later on forged a new one to glorify their patrons.

In spite of the existence of the contemporary and the later documents, which supplement and corroborate each other on many topics of general interest, the results of the upto-date researches on the Guhilot origins are far from decisive. Scholars are divergent in view and their polemic on the subject has made the whole issue much involved. As a result, the reader is confronted in this field with four²⁹ conflicting theories of origin, i.e., the Brahmanic,

28. The Vira Vinoda (Kaviraja Shyamaladasa), Vol.I, p.230.
29. I.A., Vol.39, pp.186-91.

the Vallabni,³⁰ the Persian³¹ and the Kushana³². We shall, therefore, take full note of them separately and see how far our original authorities help us in finding out a satisfactory solution of the puzzle.

(1) The Brahmanic origin

The attribution of the Brahmanic origin to the Guhilot dynasty as made by some scholars is based on the following occasional epigraphical references.

(a) The founder of the Guhilot dynasty has been mentioned in the Atapura inscription of 977 A.D.³³ as 'Mahideva' which according to some scholars signifies a 'Brahmana'.

(b) The Guhilot king Bappa is represented as a 'Vipra' in a passage of the Chitoda inscription of 1274 A.D.³⁴

(c) The epigraph of Rayamalla, dated 1488 A.D.,³⁵ surmises 'in the city of Nagahrida in the beautiful land of Medapata, there lived a 'Dvija' named Bashpa'.

Regarding the first, Dr.B.R.Bhandarkar's

30. B.G., Vol.I, pt.I, p.85

31. Tod-Rajasthan (Routledge Edn.), Vol.I, p.169.

32. B.G., Vol.I, pt.I, p.85.

33. I.A., Vol.39, pp.186-91.

34. Ibid., Vol.LVI, pp.169-74.

35. B.I., p.118.

English rendering of the verse I of the Ātapura inscription runs thus:- 'Triumphant is Shri Guhadatta, the founder of the Guhil family, a Brahmin and the delight of Brahmin family emigrated from Anandapur'. It is clear here the word 'Mahideva' is taken to stand for a Brahmana. This encouraged Dr. K.M.Munshi to argue that 'Guhadatta who inhabited Anarta migrated to upper Sabarmati valley to establish a small principality there. By birth he was a Brahmana whose descendant Bhartribhata came to be called as a Kshatriya on the analogy of Parasurama'.³⁶ Apparently there is some force in these arguments but they are open to serious objections. First, the use of 'Mahideva' for a Brahmana is absolutely uncommon in Sanskrit literature and we may safely submit that the word 'Mahideva' of the Ātapura record seems to denote a 'king' rather than signifying a 'Brahmana'. As a matter of fact the Manusmriti and the Mahabharata describe the king as a veritable deity in human form who can in no circumstances be despised and ill-treated. Secondly, Amarakosha's omission of 'Mahideva' in its authentic list of Sanskrit words is at best an argumentum ex silentio,

36. The Glory that was Gurjaradesa, p.80.

although 'Mani' and 'Deva' are elsewhere mentioned by the same lexicon in a way which shows their separate entities. Thirdly, the arguments of Dr. Bhandarkar is perhaps vitiated by the same inscription of Atapura, wherein Haravahana, a descendant of Guhadatta is referred to as a 'Kshatra-³⁷ Kshetra', i.e., an abode of Kshatriyas. Besides, tradition ³⁸ (Nansi) avers that the Gohilots of Medapata descended from the solar race of the most distinguished Kshatriyas although their ancestors performed Brahmanic rites.

As regards the import of 'Vipra' it appears probable that the word was concocted in favour of Bappa in the Chitoda inscription of 1274 A.D. ³⁹ by Veda-Sharma a Brahmana poet of Samarasimha only to mark out his patron's predecessor as an ardent and philanthropic Brahmanist, who made numerous land-grants to the Brahmanas and the Divinities. We may also recall in this connection the cases of other charters of the same ruler Samarasimha which bestow high praise on his ancestors. The Rasiaji's Chhatra inscription ⁴⁰ of 1274 A.D. contains the following passage 'may the city of Nagahrada be victorious, which adds to the beauty of the Ilakhanda and has even while on earth humbled the city of the gods by its wealth coming from which the Brahmin Bappa who had given up all love for this world, established the

37. I.A., Vol.39, p.191.

38. Khyata-Nansi, Vol.I, p.1.

39. I.A., Vol.LVI, pp. 169-74.

40. B.I., p.74.

Yajna-stambha in the veda of land situated amid the four
oceans'. Another charter is an epigraph of 1385 A.D. ⁴¹,
which says 'assuredly from Brahma-like Harita Bappa
obtained in the shape of an anklet the lustre of a
Kshatriya and gave the sage his devotion, his own
Brahmanical lustre'. Considering the exchangeability of
the castes (lustres) between Bappa and his sage Harita,
the evidence of Veda-Sharma is of course flimsy and is
opposed to the unimpeachable contemporary testimony of
an inscription of 1278 A.D. ⁴², which describes Simha, a
ruler of the same line as a Kshatriya. Besides, Veda-
Sharma's contention gets totally nullified by an earlier
inscription of Naravahana dated 971 A.D. ⁴³, which registers
'the diffusion of the fame of the Ragnuvamsha by the
priests of Ekalingaji from Himalaya to Setu' and thereby
testifies to the connection of the Gunilots with the
mythical Ragnuvamsha in the solar race.

Lastly is the appellation 'Dvija' which occurs in
Rayamalla's record of 1488 A.D. ⁴⁴. We may take note of the
verse 28 of the same record. It says 'from him (Hamir) was

41. B.I., p.94,; I.A.,XIV, p.349.

42. R.M.R., 1923, p.3; J.A.S.B, Vol.LV, pt.I, pp.18 & 48.

43. B.B., R.A.S.I., Vol.22, p.167; N.P.P., Vol.I, pt.3, p.250.

44. B.I., p.116.

descended Kshetrasimha who was the field of the duties of a Kshatriya. He, the lord of the Kshatriyas reigned in Chaitra-kuta⁴⁵ '. The record speaks for itself and needs no comments. It gains additional support from another inscription of 1500 A.D. belonging to the reign of the same ruler, which represents Guhadatta, Bappa and Khummana as the most distinguished Kshatriya kings. Further, a much stronger argument is found in the inscription of 1428 A.D. of Mokala-simha when it says 'king Arisimha who had eyes powerful to gaze at the lustre of the planets in the form of the brave Kshatriyas'. And finally in the Sriringirishi record dated 1428 A.D., we read Kshetrasimha as 'the jewel (Mandanamani) of the clan of the Kshatriyas'. It is not certain that a 'Dvija' means always a Brahmana. The word means 'second born' and is used for either a Brahmana or a Kshatriya or a Vaishya. 'By birth alone one is a Sudra, it is only by sacrament that he becomes a Dvija⁴⁹ is the explanation given for the word and Sanskara, i.e., the sacred thread ceremony is the privilege of

45. B.I., p.126.

46. H.R., Vol. II, p.657; B.I., pp.140-42.

47. B.I., p.104.

48. I.A., Vol.LVI, pp.169-74.

49. जन्मना जायते शूद्रः संस्कारा द्विज उच्यते

all these three varnas, so the appellation 'Dvija' does not necessarily denote that the Guhilots were Brahmanas and the overwhelming testimony of their Kshatriyahood is correct.

Thus the whole evidence harmonises remarkably well and the upshot of this lengthy but necessary discussion gains considerable force to militate against the view propounded in favour of the Brahmanic origin of the Guhilots.

(11) The Vallabhi origin

Some scholars affirm that the Guhilots were a branch of the famous Maitrakas of Vallabhi and their arguments may be summed up, in short. Kaviraja Shyamala-⁵⁰ dasa tries to prove in his Vira Vinoda that the Guhilots are descended from the last Maitraka king of Vallabhi, who escaped misfortune befalling his kingdom. He argues that owing to the incessant inroads of the barbarians, who poured down like an irresistible torrent in Vallabhi, the king was compelled to retire to the strongholds of Idara on the Aravallis to seek a safe refuge. There he originated

50. Vira Vinoda, Vol.I, p.248.

a new dynasty of his own which came to be known as the house of Guhilots. Dr. Bhagwan Lal Indraji alludes to the possibility of the Guhilots deriving their name from the fourth ruler, Gunasena, of Vallabhi. Captain Wilberforce, on the other hand, conjectures 'chiefly because of the derivation of Gohel from 'Guha' the name given to the son of Siladitya VII after Vallabhi had been destroyed'. Col. Tod was of the opinion 'that Kenaksen, a descendant of Rama came from Lonkote and settled in Saurashtra in 145 A.D. His descendant ruled there till 524 A.D. When Vallabhi was destroyed by the barbarians. Consequently its inhabitants fled and established their holds in Balli, Sunderai and Nadole in Mordurdesa and Guha a son of Pushpawati, the queen of the last Maitraka ruler established his principality at Edar'. Mr. Sherring holds 'Grahilot to be derived from Granaditya of the Vallabhi line'. And lastly Mr. Fleet goes so far as to assert that Bhattarakas, the most powerful governor of Vallabhi under Gupta authority was a Guhilot, who initiated a new line of his own which was destined to play an important role in the politics of Western India during the early mediaval

51. B.G., Vol.I, pp.85 and 89.

52. History of Kathiawar, p.72.

53. Tod; Rajasthan (Kegan Paul Edn.) Vol.I, pp.176-77.

54. Hindu tribes and castes, Vol.I, p.126.

55. I.A., Vol.3, p.203.

ages.

This theory, doubtless, has some apparent cogency but is far from conclusive, for, the Guhilots never call themselves Maitrakas in any of their grants. The tradition of Siladitya VII's death in 524 A.D. is perhaps vitiated by his own inscription of Alina⁵⁶ on a memorial copperplate, which gives for his death the date 766 A.D., thereby making him to flourish about two centuries after the foundation of the Guhilot dynasty. On the strength of Huen Tsiang's testimony⁵⁷, it is certain that Tu-lo-po-po-ta, i.e., Dhruvabhatta II of Falapi (Vallabhi) was a contemporary of the Guhilot Siladitya, the fifth successor of Guhadatta, Siladitya, according to his own inscription of Samoli⁵⁸ flourished in 646 A.D. How could then the last Maitraka king become father of Guhadatta when latter's fifth successor was a contemporary of the predecessor of Siladitya VII of Vallabhi? There is little margin for error in Huen Tsiang's narrative, for, he was himself an eye witness of the contemporary history, which adds to the value and merits of his testimony.

There is no trace of barbarians' raids over

56. J.A.S.V., 1909, p.173., C.I.I., Vol.III, No.39, Plate XXV., pp.171-191
 57. Watters II, p.246; Beal, Vol.II, p.267; Life p.148.
 58. I.A., Vol.LVI, p.169.

Vallabhi in 646 A.D. The rumblings of the coming of the Arabs were perhaps first heard in Vallabhi in 755 A.D., when Amurubin Jamal⁵⁹ was commissioned by Caliph Mansur of Bagdad with the help of a fleet of barks to force his arms in Saurashtra. Hearing this the ruler of Vallabhi, however, driven to desperation by the gradual diminution of his ancestral kingdom, determined to defy the foaming torrent brought by the alien invader, but the effete Hindu soldiers were no match for the hardy hosts of the Arabs and he was compelled to retreat after a prolonged struggle.⁶⁰ Thus the available evidence and the consensus of the opinion of chronology point to the downfall of Vallabhi sometime after 766 A.D. much after the emergence of the Guhilots and there is nothing to prove the contrary. It is most probable that Siladitya of the Guhilot dynasty is misconceived as Siladitya Dharmaditya of Vallabhi line, who is well identified with a king of⁶¹ Western Malava by Huen Tsiang in his narrative. But we know that the former flourished in 646 A.D. while⁶² the latter had reigned 60 years prior to the pilgrim's arrival. Hence, both the kings are not identical and

59. B.G., Vol.II, pt.I, p.95.

60. Ibid., Vol.II, pt.I, p.95.

61. Watters, Vol.II, p.242; Beal, Vol.II, p.261; Life, p.146.

62. I.A., Vol.LVI, p.169.

there is a lapse of 67 years between their reigns. Consequently no connection of the Guhilots with the Maitrakas can be ascertained and after a critical survey of the contemporary Guhilot records along with the evidence of other relevant authorities the theory of the Vallabhi origin of the Guhilot dynasty is proved incorrect.

(iii) The Persian origin

The alleged connection of the Guhilots with the Sassanian kings of Persia is fabricated by a late tale told by Latchmi Narain Shufcek Aurangabadi in his *Masser-al-Omra*, which narrates, 'the Khushka of these princes is made with hamab blood - - - - . Their title is Rana and they deduce their origin from Naushervan-i-Adil -----'.⁶³ Following him Col. Tod concludes, 'of the eldest daughter of Yazdegird, Mahabanu, the Parsees have no account, but the books of Hindu give evidence to their arrival in that country and that from her issue is the tribe Sisodia. But at all events, this race is either of the seed of Nosnizad, the son of Naushervan

63. *Masser-al-Omra* (Tod *Rajasthan*, Kegan Paul Edn.), Vol. I, pp. 189-92).

or of that of the daughter of Yazdegird . In support of his view he writes 'with both the chief object are adoration was sun and each bore the image of the orb on their banners. The chief day of seven, Surajavar or Aditvar was dedicated to the sun'. He further cites the authority of Abul Fazal who in his ⁶⁵ Ayeeen-Akabari throws interesting side-light on the relation between the Ranas of Nevada and Nausherwan of Persia,

According to this view, therefore, the Guhilots were of foreign extraction and the forebear of this family was Nausherwan Adil, the well-known ruler of Persia. The theory, although interesting at the outset does not, however, seem to rest on solid foundation. The passage of Masser-al-Omra has hardly any air of reality and appears as legend in the conventional exaggerated style of a poet given to punning and without any reference to any historical accuracy. It does not seem probable that Nausherwan's son Yazdegird could penetrate his victorious arms so far south when at the very frontiers of Merv he had to bear the humiliation of an ignominious defeat and death

64. Tod: Rājāsthān (Routledge Edn.) Vol. I, p. 183.
65. Tod: Rājāsthān (Routledge Edn.) Vol. I, p. 183.

at the hands of the Arabs in 651 A.D. The identification⁶⁶ of Menrbanu, the grand daughter of Nausherwan with the mother of Guhadatta is far from certain, for, we know that Guhadatta was a contemporary of Nausherwan (552 A.D. - 579 A.D.). How could then he be a son of Nausherwan's grand-daughter? No. evidence of finds, spots nor any traces of Persian sway are available in Nevada during a period of about six hundred years which intervene second and the 8th centuries A.D.

It is, thus, reasonable to conclude that the attempt to connect the Guhilots with the Persians seems gratuitous and baseless.

(iv) The Kushān origin

Regarding the origin of the Guhilots it is interesting to note that Mr. Jackson suggests a different line of enquiry. He considers Kanishka, the illustrious Kushān ruler to be the progenitor of the Guhilot line and connects this dynasty with the solar race. He says 'a connection between Kanishka and the race

66. The Historians History of the World edited by Henry William, Vol.8, pp.88-98.

of the sun would be made easy by the international confusing of the names Kshatrapas and Kshatriyas and by the fact that during part at least of his time fire⁸⁷ and the sun were Kanishka's favourite deities'. Commenting on the migration of the Guhilots from the North to Saurāstra he argues' as he came from the north not from the north-east an original Kusnanputra a son of the Kusnān may be the true form because Lohkota is not Lahore but Lauhavar of Lahur in Kashmir uplands as Al Beruni refers to it as the main⁸⁸ centre of the Kusnan power'. He further draws the line of the Kusnans to connect it with the Guhilot through the agency of Maitraka kings of Vallabhi.

This view, however, will not bear scrutiny, as a close perusal of the Kusnān history would show. It is clear that during the time of weak and incompetent successors the Kusnans could not make any headway against the South. Instead, they even retired from several parts of India and left some of their positions and this decline in their power may have in no small measure been due to the vigorous drive of the forceful tribes like that of the Malavas. The alleged confusion

87. B.G., Vol.I, pt.I, p.101.

88. Ibid., Vol.I, pt.I, p.101.

of the Kshatriyas with Kshatrapas is perhaps confessed by the learned historian on the latter being thoroughly Hinduised adopting Sanskritic names and Brahmanical forms of worship as is apparent in the case of the western Kshatrapa ruler Rudradāma⁶⁹ of the Girnar inscription of 150 A.D. It is also significant that no glimpses of the Guhilots are found in the Kshatrapa records.

Thus in view of basic incongruities we are not prepared to pin our faith in the Kshatriyan origin of the the Guhilots.

Conclusions:

We may, therefore, on the strength of the combined testimony of the numismatic, epigraphic and literary records conclude that Gunadatta was the real founder of the Guhilot dynasty. He belonged to the solar race of the Kshatriyas but in the absence of any positive proof it is better not to credit him with any well-known ancestry.

69. E.I., Vol.8, p.40.

CHAPTER III

GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY

(1) Genealogy

A comparative study of all the lists of the genealogy of the Guhilots, as recorded in their inscriptions, shows that as time passed on, historical authenticity of them lessened and the evidence furnished by them demands cautious and critical use. The earlier records are doubtless to be preferred, for they contain more accuracy and are consequently worthy of more reliance. Some other sources of information, viz., the bardic chronicles, though quite useful otherwise, are rather defective with respect to genealogy.

(a) The earliest reliable record which contains the genealogy of the early Guhilots is the ¹Atapura inscription of Shaktikumāra dated 877 A.D. It registers twenty kings from Guhadatta to Shaktikumāra.

(b) Next, we have what is known as the ²Rasiāji's Cnhatrī inscription of 1274 A.D. It begins

1. I.A., Vol. 39, pp. 186-191.

2. B.I., pp. 74-77; A.S.I.; Vol. 26, Plate 25; I.A., Vol. 42, pp. 80-81.

with the great king Guhila and takes as down to Haravarama.

(c) The third is the Abu inscription of³ 1285 A.D., which contains a list of kings from Guhila to Samarasimha.

(d) The Guhilot genealogy is also supplemented by some later inscriptions. The most important of them is the Ranapura inscription dated 1440 A.D.⁴ It enumerates forty-one kings from Guhila to Kumbhakarana.

(e) Another inscription is that of⁵ Kumbhakarana dated 1460 A.D. It starts bestowing praises on Guhila and brings the genealogy down to Kumbhakarna.

(f) Further, we may take into account the evidence of the Prasasti of Punja⁶ which begins with Adi Narayana and ends with Dungarasimha.

(g) Besides, the Rajaprasasti Mahakavya⁷

3. B.I., pp. 84-87; I.A., Vol. 16, pp. 345-58; Asiatic researches, Vol. XVI, pp. 284 ff; J.A.S.B., Vol. LV, pt. I, pp. 32 ff, 48 ff and 57 ff.
4. B.I., pp. 113-115.
5. N.P.P., Vol. I, p. 275.
6. Khyata;: Hansi, Vol. I, p. 83.
7. B.I., pp. 145-154.

of 1673 A.D. presents the genealogy of this dynasty in two cantos. The first gives a list of legendary kings from Narayana to Vijayabhupa and the other contains a vivid description of the Guhilots from Guhadatta to Rajasimha.

(n) Lastly, we get an additional information from some charters of the earlier and later Guhilots. They comprise the Chirawa inscription of 1273 A.D.⁸ describing the genealogy from Padmasimha to Samarasimha, the Ekalingaji inscription of 1429 A.D.⁹ bestowing praise on Arisimha and Hamzira and the Ekalingaji inscription of 1489 A.D.¹⁰ speaking of the later kings of the dynasty.

The genealogy preserved in the inscription of Atapura, Chitoda, Abu, Ranapura, Kumbhalagara and Rajaprasasti Mahakavya respectively can be arranged in the following tabular form:-

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8. E.I., Vol. XXII, pp.285-88.
9. B.I., pp.96-97,
10. Ibid., pp.117-122.

TABLE - A

GENEALOGY OF THE GUHILOT KINGS AS MENTIONED
IN THE INSCRIPTIONS

Ātapura Inscription 877 A.D.	Chitoda Inscrip. 1274 A.D.	Ābū Inscrip. 1285 A.D.	Rānapura Inscrip. 1440 A.D.	Kumbhalagarha Inscription 1460 A.D.	Rājaprasasti Mānakāvya 1675 A.D.
1	2	3	4	5	6
	Bappa	Bappa (Bappaka)	Bappa		
1. Guhadatta	Guhila	Guhila	Guhila	Guhila	Guhaditya
2. Bhoja	Bhoja	Bhoja	Bhoja	Bhoja	Basapa
3. Mahendra	-	-	-	Mahindra	-
4. Naga	-	-	-	Naga	-
5. Shila	Shila	Shila	Shila	Bappa	-
6. Aparajita	-	-	-	Aparajita	-
7. MahendraII	-	-	-	MahendraII	-
8. Kalabhoja	Kalabhoja	Kalabhoja	Kalabhoja	Kalabhoja	-
9. Khummana	-	-	-	Khummana	Khummana
10. Mattata	Mattata	-	-	Mattata	Govinda
11. Bhartripata	Bhartripata	Bhartripata	Bhartripata	Bhartribhata	Mahendra
12. Simha	Simha	Simha	Simha	-	-
13. KhummanaII	-	-	-	-	-
14. Mahayaka	Mahayaka	Mahayaka	Mahayaka	-	-
15. KhummanaIII	Khummana	Khummana	Khummana	-	-
16. BhartripataII	-	-	-	-	-
17. Allata	Allata	Allata	Allata	Allata	Alu
18. Naravahana	Naravahana	Naravahana	Naravahana	Naravahana	-

TABLE - A (CONTD.)

1	2	3	4	5	6
19.	Shālivāhana	Verse 45 lost	-	-	Shālivāhana
20.	Shaktikumāra	Snaktikumāra	Shaktikumāra	Shaktikumāra	Shaktikumāra
21.	-	Ambāprasāda	Suchivarmā	Suchivarmā	Ambāprasāda
22.	-	Naravarmā	Naravarmā	Kirtivarmā Yashovarmā	Naravāhana
23.	-	-	Kirtivarmā	Yogarāja	Ambāprasāda
24.	-	-	Vairata	Vairata	Kirtivarma
25.	-	-	Vairisimha	Vamsapāla	Naravarmā
26.	-	-	Vijayasimha	Vairisimha	Narapati
27.	-	-	Arisimha	Virasimha	Uttama
28.	-	-	Chodasimha	Arisimha	Bhairava
29.	-	-	Vikramasimha	Chodasimha	Punja
30.	-	-	Kshemasimha	Vikramasimha	Karnaditya kesari
31.	-	-	Sāntasimha	Ranasimha	Phavasimha
32.	-	-	Kumārasimha	Kshemasimha	Govatrasimha
33.	-	-	Mathanasimha	Samanta- simha	Hansaraja
34.	-	-	Padmasimha	Kumarasimha	Subnayogaraja
35.	-	-	Jaitrasimha	Metana- simha	Vairata
36.	-	-	Tejasimha	Padmasimha	Vairisimha
37.	-	-	Samarasimha	Jaitrasimha	Tejasimha
38.	-	-	-	Tejasvisimha	Samarasimha
39.	-	-	-	Samarasimha	Karna Nāvata
40.	-	-	-	Bhuvanasingha	Māhapa
41.	-	-	-	Jaisimha	Nāhapa
42.	-	-	-	Lakshmanasingha	-
43.	-	-	-	Ajasimha	-
44.	-	-	-	Arisimha	-
45.	-	-	-	Hemvira	-

The Atapura inscription is the earliest record which supplies the useful information. The tables show that it finds ample support in the later records and its genealogy is in unison with that of the Kumbhalagara inscription with only a few exceptions. The latter shows an omission of Shila but this King finds place in the majority of records shown above. Thus there is no doubt about his existence. Hence, leaving little margin for error we may safely accept the genealogy from Guhadatta to Shaktikumara as mentioned in the Atapura inscription as correct.

Continuing the genealogy further, we find that the Chitoda and Kumbhalagara inscriptions speak of Ambaprasada's succession immediately after Shaktikumara. The latter record also describes Naravarman, Anantavarman and Yashovarman as the three brothers of Ambaprasada. In the ¹¹ Dasta Mata inscription Suchivarman is referred to as the son of Shaktikumara. Hence, it is clear that Ambaprasada, Suchivarman, Naravarman, Anantavarman and Yashovarman were brothers and came one after the other.

11. B.I., pp.72-74.

To proceed further, the Hanapura and Kumbhalagara inscriptions are in complete agreement to present the genealogy from Yashovarman (Kirtivarman) to Samarasimha. The line of succession shown by these two records is also confirmed by an earlier record of Abu which shows an omission of only two kings, viz., Yogaraja and Vamsapala (Hansapala) in its list. As the existence of Yogaraja and Hansapala in the Guhilot genealogy is confirmed by the Prasasti of Punja¹² and Bheragata inscription of 1155 A.D.,¹³ there is little doubt about the accuracy of the genealogy from Yashovarman to Samarasimha given in the Hanapura and Kumbhalagara inscriptions.

The Dariba inscription further describes¹⁴ Ratnasimha as the son and successor of Samarasimha. During the progress of the great siege of Chitoda by Ala-ud-din Khalji in 1303 A.D. we are informed that Ratnasimha lost his life and the sun of the Guhilot dynasty temporarily eclipsed. But it was not to last long. The Hanapura inscription¹⁵ describes that Hammira of Sesoda branch of the Guhilot dynasty inflicted a crushing defeat on the Chahamanas Maladeva who was placed in charge of the fort Chitoda by Ala-ud-din and recaptured the great fort in 1326 A.D.

12. Khyata: Nansi, Vol.I, p.86.

13. E.I., Vol.II, p.10.

14. R.M.H., 1927, p.3.

15. H.R., Vol.II, pp.502-03.

(11) Chronology

Chronology being the weakest spot in Guhilot History it is obviously difficult to fix the durations of the reign periods of the Guhilot kings with any amount of accuracy. As reckoning of dates is essential for building up authentic history it is necessary to get an idea of the systematic chronology of the Guhilot rulers. Unluckily, in our case the task is tedious, for the volume and degree of information furnished by the Guhilot records are too scanty to take any such venture. We have practically no materials for most of the kings. But inspite of these difficulties we shall examine afresh all the available sources to arrive at a fairly approximate chronology of the Guhilot kings.

Practically no date is known about Guhadatta in the inscriptions. Assigning a period of about twenty years for each reign M.M.Gaurishankar Ojha places him in 568 A.D.¹⁶ Dr. H.C.Ray suggests that he reigned sometime in the middle of the sixth century A.D.¹⁷ It is very unsafe to accept the simple guess of these historians.

16. H.R., Vol.I, p.178.

17. D.H.N.I., Vol.II, p.1155.

Col. Tod tries to solve this puzzle by suggesting on the authority of the Bhatrunjaya Manatmya¹⁸, that Guhadatta was born in 524 A.D. This date appears to be nearer the truth. General Cunningham's reading of Gunila's silver coins shows that they cannot be placed later than the sixth century¹⁹ A.D. The Tujuk-1-Jahangiri²⁰ informs us that there flourished twenty six kings in the Guhilot family prior to Amarasimha and they ruled for one thousand and ten years. If we subtract 1010 years from 1597 A.D. (the date of Amarasimha) we get 587 A.D. as the approximate date for the reign of Guhadatta. It is thus clear that Guhadatta's time ranges between 524 A.D. and 587 A.D.

It is unfortunate that our authorities fail to ascertain the dates of Guhadatta's successors, i.e., Bhoja, Mahendra I and Naga, and we have to travel down the stream of history till we come to 'another anchorage of time'. Luckily, the Samoli

18. Tod: Rajasthan (Routledge Edn.), Vol.II, p.187.

19. Arch. S.I., Vol. IV, p.95.

20. Tujuk-1-Jahangiri (Eng.Edn.) Vol.I, p.155.

inscription of Siladitya dated 646 A.D.²¹ and his
son Aparajita's inscription of 661 A.D.²² fix
Siladitya's reign of sixteen years from 646 A.D. to
661 A.D.

Our difficulty does not end here
and the possibility of finding out exact dates for
each of the later kings, who came after Aparajita
is as remote as ever and we are left almost to grope
in the dark till we come to the time of Bappa²³.
He is mentioned in the Ekalingaji Mahatmya to have
attained pre-eminence as a great hero in 753 A.D.
As well pointed out by Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar, the
passage 'Yad-uktampuratanaina Kavibhin'²⁴ denotes
that the date was copied from some older records
and as such leaves no margin for error. Its authenticity²⁵
is further confirmed by the Ekalinga Purana which
records the same year for Bappa's bestowing his regality
on his son after the former had decided to lead a

21. I.A., Vol.LVI, p. 169; N.P.P.(New Edn.), Vol.I, p.311.
22. E.I., vol.IV, p.31.
23. N.P.P., Vol.I, p.272.
24. I.A., Vol.59, pp.166-191.
25. N.P.P., Vol.I, p.275; E.I., p.153.

spiritual life.

We may, however, determine the date of Bappa's accession with reference to the chronological setting of his contemporary Mana Mori of Chitoda. The Raya Sagara Talao inscription states that Bappa 'having conquered the king called Manuraja of the race Mori, took Chitrakuta and reigned there like a supreme lord'. According to his Mana Sarovara inscription Mana reigned in 715 A.D. There is a curious break in Mana's records beyond 715 A.D. We may reasonably explain this break by assuming that it was shortly after 715 A.D. that Bappa conquered Chitoda. M.M. Gaurishankara Ojha is inclined to accept the year 734 A.D. for the fateful event. But his assumption, though probably, is far from convincing for want of epigraphical evidence. It is evident that Bappa captured Chitoda from Mana and not from his successor Dhavala of the Kansuvama

26: B.I., p. 153.

27. I.A., Vol.LIX(1930), pp. 35-37; A.S.I., Vol.23,p.112.

28. R.M.R., 1917-18, p.3.

ins²⁹cription dated 738 A.D. We are thus driven to accept Bappa's period of reign to range from 713 A.D. to 753 A.D.

After Bappa, the dates of seven rulers, viz., Khummana I, Mattata, Bhartribhata I, Simha, Khummana II, Manayaka and Khummana III cannot be worked out at present owing to the entire absence of any chronological data whatsoever.

The date of Khummana III's son, Bhartribhata II, on the evidence of his own inscription³⁰ is 842 A.D. Another fragmentary inscription³¹ gives the year 843 A.D. for his reign and the Sarnesvara inscription dated 851 A.D.³² of Bhartribhata II's son Allata settles the last limit of former's reign.

Allata, according to his own inscription of Sarnesvara occupied the throne in 851 A.D. and ceased to rule in 871 A.D. when his son Naravanana

23. Prog. Report.A.S.I., W.C., for 1908 A.D., p.31.

30. E.I., Vol.XIV, pp. 177 ff. part III.

31. R.E.R., 1914, p.2; E.I., Vol.XIV, Appendix p.11, No.60.

32. B.I., pp.67-69; I.A., LVIII, p.102.

is said, in his own inscription ³³, to have taken
rein of government in his own hands. It is evident
from the ³⁴Atapura inscription dated 977 A.D. of
Naravāhana's grand-son Shaktikumāra that Naravāhana
and his son Śālivanāna enjoyed a term of
eight years from 971 A.D. to 977 A.D.

To turn to Shaktikumāra, it is difficult
to fix the last limit of his reign. In the Hasti Kundi
inscription of 986 A.D. ³⁵, the Kāshtrakuta king
Dhavalā is said to have given shelter to the armies
of the Guhilot king when Munjarāja destroyed Aghata,
the pride of Medapata. The Guhilot king, who was
helped by the Kāshtrakuta king, was none else but
Shaktikumāra himself for it was he who was brought
low by Munjarāja of Malava in 985 A.D. ³⁶ This
incident was an event of far-reaching effect and
shows visible signs of decline. Hence, it may not

33. B.I., pp. 66-71; J.B.R.A.S., 1903-06, Vol. XXII, pp. 166-67.

34. I.A., Vol. 39, pp. 188-191.

35. E.I., Vol. XX, p. 17.

36. E.I., Vol. X, p. 17.

be improper if we fix the last limit of Shaktikumāra's reign in 356 A.D.

Shaktikumāra's son Ambaprasāda must have come to the throne shortly after 356 A.D. The Prithvirāja Vijaya claims that the Shakambharī Chahamanā Vakapatirajall sent Ambaprasāda 'the lord³⁷ of Agnata, with his army to the abode of Yama'.

It is unfortunate that this record does not assign any date to this event and we cannot fix the limit of Ambaprasāda's reign with any amount of certainty.

The history of Ambaprasāda's brothers, viz., Suchivarman, Naravarman, Anantavarman and Kirtivarman (Yashovarman) is rather obscure. Unluckily there is no evidence to determine the dates of Yogarāja, Vairata, Hansapāla and Vairisimha.

Vairisimha's successor, Vijayasimha, according to his own Kadamala copperplate, wore the crown in 1107 A.D.³⁸ The Pipada inscription of 1117 A.D.³⁹ contains the last known date of his reign

37. P.V., Verses 59-60; D.H.N.I., Vol.II, p.1036.

38. Rājputānā Gazetteers, Vol.II, Appendix, pp.13-16.

39. E.I., Vol. XX, p.143, No.326.

and he may be taken to have ceased to rule shortly after 1147 A.D. No specific dates of the next three rulers, viz., Arisimha, Chodasimha and Vikramasimha, have been mentioned in the inscriptions and hence the duration of the period of the reign of each ruler cannot be worked out at present. Dr. H.C. Ray⁴⁰ rightly places Ranasimha in 1168 A.D. This date is also confirmed by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar who identifies Ranasimha with the Mahamandalesvara Rajakula Ranasideva of Ajaneri stone inscription⁴¹ dated 1167 A.D. The reign of Ranasimha's successor, Ramesasimha, was perhaps short for the latter's son, Samantasimha is known in his own Jagata inscription to have been reigning in 1171 A.D.⁴² The Solaja inscription of 1179 A.D.⁴³ is the last known record of Samantasimha. His reign seems to have terminated shortly after 1179 A.D.

40. D.H.N.I., Vol.II, p.1173.

41. A.S.I., W.C., 1910-11, p.39; E.I.XX, Appendix, p.49, No.524, f.n. 1 on the same page.

42. R.M.R., 1914-15, p.3.

43. R.M.R., 1914-15, p.3.

Samantasimha's successors, viz., Kumarasimha, Mathanasimha and Padmasimha ruled upto 1213 A.D. but their separate reign periods are not known from the inscriptions. Padmasimha's son Jaitrasimha ascended the throne in 1213 A.D. This date is furnished by his own inscription⁴⁴ of Ikalingaji⁴⁵. He appears to have reigned upto 1252 A.D.,⁴⁶ which is the last known date of his inscriptions.

Regarding the dates of Jaitrasimha's son, Tejasimha, Kamalachandra, the author of the *Śrāvaka-prakaraṇa Sūtra Churnī*,⁴⁷ informs us that Tejasimha was reigning in 1260 A.D. It is thus clear that Tejasimha must have occupied the throne sometime before 1260 A.D. It may not be far from truth if we accept 1252 A.D. as the year of his accession. He must have ceased to rule in 1273 A.D.⁴⁷ when his son Samarasimha, according to the Chirawa inscription dated

44. B.I., p.90, I.A., LVII, pp.31-34, H.R., I, p.470, f.n.2.

45. H.R., I, p.471, f.n.2.

46. Peterson's Report, p.23; H.R., Vol. I, p.473, f.n.4.

47. W.Z.K.M., Vol. XXI, pp.142-62.

1276 A.D., became king. The last known date of Samarasimha⁴⁸ in his own Chitoda inscription, is 1301 A.D.

The son and successor of Samarasimha was Ratnasimha, whose reign was a 'period of stress and storm'. The only known record of his reign is the Dariba inscription of 1302 A.D.⁴⁹ We are informed that during the progress of the siege of Chitoda in 1303 A.D.⁵⁰ by Alā-ud-din Khalji, the Gunilot ruler, Ratnasimha lost his life. Since 1303 A.D. the fate of Chitoda fell in the whirlpool of the Muslim power for twenty-two years. It was in 1325 A.D. that Hammira, revived the lost glory of the dynasty by recapturing the fort from Maladeva Chahamana who was placed in charge of the fort by Alā-ud-din Khalji after KhizrKhan. Hammira, the great saviour of the Gunilot kingdom is⁵¹ known to have successfully ruled upto 1364 A.D.

48. R.M.R., 1921, p.1.

49. R.M.R., 1927, p.3.

50. R.M.R., 1922, p.2.

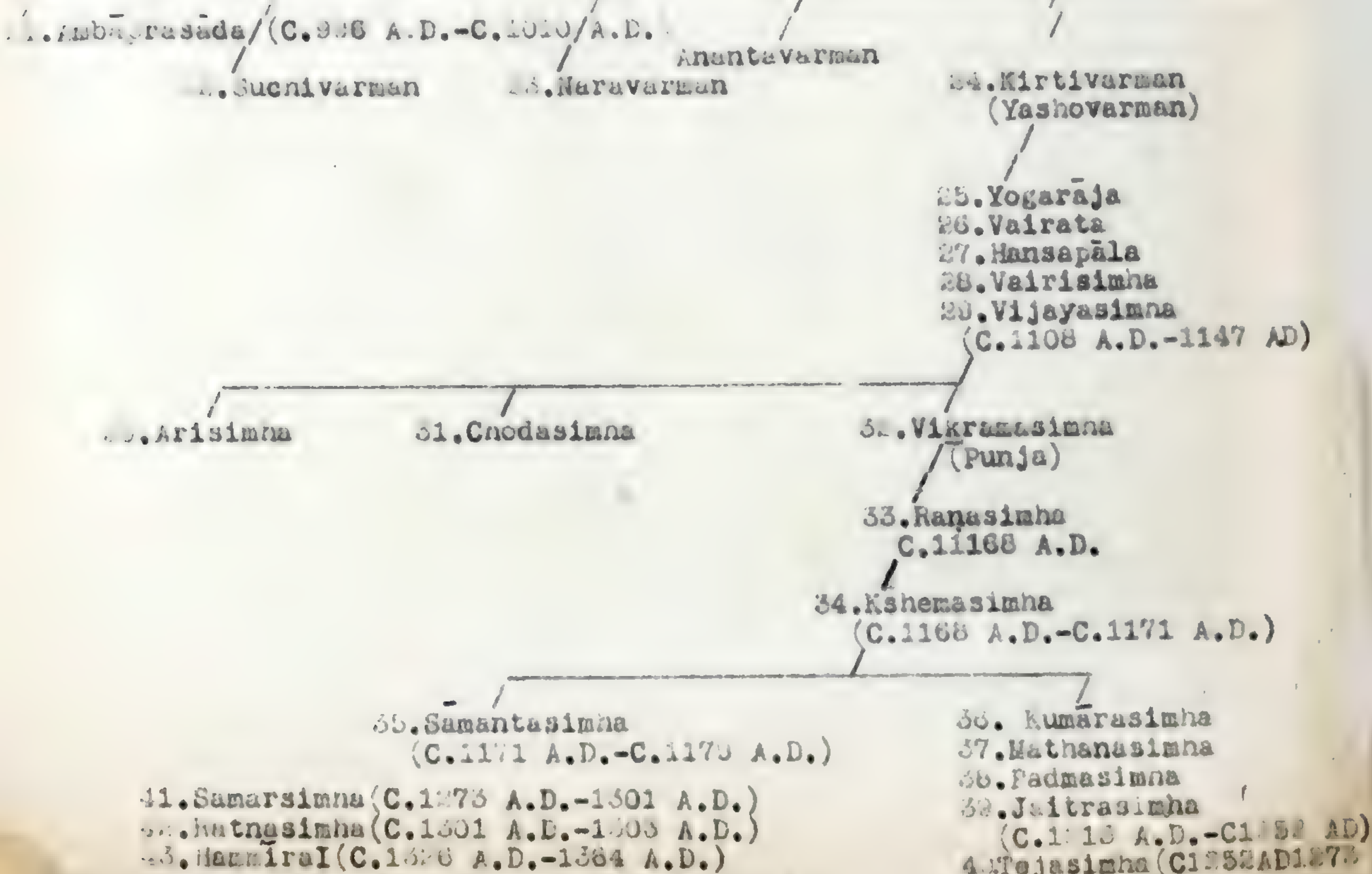
51. I.A., Vol.55, p.11; Rājputānā Gazetteers Vol.II-A, pp.13-16; Cambridge History of India Vol.II, p.526.

Beyond the year 1554 A.D., the account of the Gunilot dynasty is no longer our concern, we have thus finished our critical survey of the epigraphic description of Gunilot kings, along with the evidence of other relevant authorities, in regard to their genealogy as well as chronology and we are now in a position to arrange them as follows:

TABLE - B.

GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF
THE GUHILOT KINGS

1. Guhadatta (C. 524 A.D. - C. 567 A.D.)
2. Bhoja
3. MahendraI
4. Naga
5. Shilāditya (C. 546 A.D. - C. 561 A.D.)
6. Aparājita (C. 561 A.D. - C. 671 A.D.)
7. MahendraII
8. Kalabhoja or Bappa (C. 615 A.D. - C. 755 A.D.)
9. KhummānaI
10. Mattata
11. Bhartripattai (Bhartribnatta)
12. Simha
13. KhummānaII
14. Mahayaka
15. KhummānaIII
16. BhartribnataII (C. 842 A.D. - C. 851 A.D.)
17. Allata (C. 851 A.D. - C. 871 A.D.)
18. Naravahana (C. 871 A.D. - C. 977 A.D.)
19. Shālivahana
20. Shaktikumāra (C. 977 A.D. - C. 998 A.D.)



CHAPTER IV

EARLY HISTORY OF THE GUHILOTS

1. The region of the Guhilot kingdom

Before tracing the early history and rise of the Guhilots, we must describe the region over which the dynasty ruled for about eight hundred years from the middle of the sixth century A.D. The tract of southern Rajputana that lies to the south-east of the Aravallis and west of the Chambala river, then known as 'Meda, sta', was the home of the Guhilots. According to the Abu inscription of 722 A.D. this region derived its name after the 'Medas', who were defeated by the first Guhilot king. The Kashiji's Chattri inscription

1. B.I., p. 64; *Ibid.*, pp. 65, 66.

- B.I., p. 66. (Kumardabji informs us that these 'Medas' were robbers who lived in North Gujarat; Elliot, Vol. I, p. 15.)
- B.I., pp. 70-71.

of 1279 A.D. says, 'the beautiful Meenapata (was) covered over with places of pilgrimage with large cities that bear the beauty of the wealth of heaven and with lakes that are as pure as white jewels'. The three large cities of the Gunilot kingdom mentioned in the inscriptions are Nagada⁴, Anada⁵ and Chitoda⁶. Nagada with its palaces, Anada with its magnificent temples and Chitoda with its strong forts are usually regarded as the civil religious and military capitals of the Gunilots. These three places comprised the vital centres of the Gunilot kingdom.

In the early medieval period, the Gunilot principality was known as Naganrida⁷ of which the name Nagada is a vernacular contraction. The Rasajil's Chatri inscription records that in Meenapata 'there is a city called Naganrida which is the ornament of the land

4. B.I., p.152; Ibid., p.70; Ibid., p.81.

5.

5. I.A., Vol.XXXIX, p.100; B.I., p.68.

6. B.I., p.152.

7. B.I., p.78.

of Ilamanda and which rivals the glory of the horns of the moon with its rows of palaces'.

The ancient town of Ahada is situated on the western spurs of the Aravallis. It was the most important place in the Gujilot kingdom. The town grew to enormous proportions during the reign of king Alkata who constructed a castle at the centre and a rampart round the city. The Hasti Kundi inscription of 336 A.D. describes this city as 'the pride of Medapata'.

The famous fort of Chitoda stands on an isolated flat-topped hill. The fort was built by a king Chitrangada¹¹ and remained in the possession of Mori king, Mana upto 713 A.D.¹², who constructed a tank (Manasarovar) there. It was captured by the Gujilot king Bappa shortly

8. B.I., p.78.

9. H.R., Vol.I, p.426.

10.E.I., Vol.X,(1903-16), p.17.

11.B.I.:Buddhist records of the western world,Vol.I,pp.11-12.

12.I.A., Vol.LIX, p.155; E.I., Vol.XXII,p.286;H.R.,1917-20, p.3.

after 713 A.D. ¹³ from Mana. The Tujik-i-Jamāngiri describes it as 'one of the strongest forts of the inhabited world' ¹⁴. From 713 A.D. onwards this strong fort was the most vital centre of the Guhilot kingdom.

(11) Early History of the Dynasty

(Gunadatta to Khummanā III)

Guhila (C. 524 - C. 567 A.D.)

Practically nothing is known about the ancestors of Guhila. In the Kasiāji's Chatri inscription of Samarasimha, Guhila is described 'as glorious as Madhu (Visnu)' ¹⁵. This inscription mentions him as a

13. B.I., p.156.

14. Tujuk-i-Jamāngiri (Trans. by Rogers, 1909, London), Vol. I, p.251.

15. B.I., p.75.

a 'Nripati'. In another inscription he is called a
- 16
Mahideva. These comparatively humble titles tend to
suggest that he was an ordinary king. But the laudatory
expression that 'the kings, who hold the staff of freedom
given by the lord Gunila, always round it for protection;¹⁷
definitely denotes considerable influence of Gunila
over other kings. In fact there is no record to mention
his subordinate status. The discovery of his two thousand
silver coins and one copper coin¹⁸ bearing his name
(Gunila) certainly show that he enjoyed an independent
sovereign power and issued his own coins throughout his
kingdom. This claim is also confirmed by even a Muslim
source, the Tujuk-i-Jehāngiri, which states that the
Gunilot kings have never bent their necks in obedience
to any of the kings of the country of Hindustan¹⁹.

16. I.A., Vol. XXXIX, p. 100.

17. B.I., p. 28.

18. Arch. Survey of India 1871-72, Vol. IV, p. 25.

19. Tujuk-i-Jehāngiri (Trans. by Rogers, London 1900),
Vol. I, p. 250.

The Gunilot family began well under Gunila. The Ekalingaji inscription of Kumbhakarna states that 'the family of King Gunila is very just; its fame is known all over; its difficulties are destroyed and it is the abode of thriving Dharma (religion) and Karma (actions)'. The fifth verse of the same inscription probably implies that Gunila freed his kingdom from the yoke of some notorious enemies. ²⁰ think that the enemies of Gunila were the Medas, ²¹ who must have caused very serious disturbances.

The indication of Gunila's advance in the north-easterly direction is found in the distribution of his silver coins in the vicinity of Naravara ²². It is unsafe to assume on this evidence that Gunila extended his kingdom up to Naravara. But the force of his arms was definitely felt as far as Chatsu in the north, where he constructed a tank, known as Golerava Talava (a corruption of Gunilaraja Talaba) ²³.

20. B.I., p.101.

21. B.I., p.88.

22. A.S.I., (Report 1871-72), Vol.IV, p.35.

23. B.I., Vol.XII, p.10.

Guhila is also praised for having achieved some notable victories towards Anada²⁴ on the western spurs of the Aravalis. In spite of the usual exaggerations and poetic word plays, it is evident from the Atapura inscription that Guhila undertook expeditions in western direction with considerable success.²⁵ He captured Anada and was hailed as 'the delight of the families of Brahmanas coming from Anandapura'.²⁶ It is clear from the conquests of Guhila that he was a powerful king. He had firmly consolidated his position in Nedapata and the regions of Anada and Chatsu felt the might of his arms. He was not only a creator of the dynasty, but was the builder of the Guhilot kingdom which continued its independent status for more than eight hundred years.

24. I.A., Vol. XXXIX, p. 186.

25. Ibid., Vol. XXXIX, p. 186.

26. Ibid., Vol. XXXIX, p. 186.

Bhoja

Gunila's son and successor was Bhojaraja.²⁷
The Kasiyaji's Chhatra inscription of 1274 A.D.
records 'Bhojaraja made a morsel of his enemies
difficult to overcome, in the fire of his great bravery'.
He is also said to have defeated all his enemies 'who
fled into forests on hearing the neighing of his swift
horses'.²⁸ Another inscription calls him a 'Naresawara'²⁹
and praises him for his wisdom. As is evident from the
inscriptions, Bhojaraja does not seem to have made
any great achievements.

After Bhoja his son Mahendral ascended
the throne.³⁰ No inscription records anything of note
regarding his reign. He was succeeded by his son Naga³¹
who was perhaps prematurely killed by the Chhils.

27. B.I., p.50.

28. B.I., p.79.

29. B.I., p.90.

30. I.A., Vol.XXXIX, p.100.

31. Khyāta, Nānsī, Vol.I, pp.14-15.

Shila (Shilāditya C.646 - C. 661 A.D.)

Naga's successor was Shila or Shilāditya³².
The Samoli inscription of 646 A.D.³³ credits him with
the title 'Narapati' but the Harlai inscription extols
him as 'Maharajadhiraja'³⁴ or kings of kings showing³⁵
his high position amongst the kings. Another record
calls him 'Bhumisha' and praises him for excelling
the mythical Chakravarti kings like Prithu of Bharata-
khanda in fame. The same inscription describes him as
a great warrior and 'a destroyer of thick clouds in³⁶
the form of the numerous elephants of his enemies'.
Another inscription says that 'he enjoyed the wealth
of his enemies'³⁷. No historical facts can be derived
from these conventional praises. Shila was no more

32. I.A., Vol.XXXIX, pp.186-191.

33. N.P.P., Vol.I, pp.311-24.

34. B.I., p.140.

35. B.I.,p.79.

36. B.I., p.78.

37. Ibid.,p.30.

than one of the early Guhilot kings and it was only during the reign of his son and successor, Aparajita, that the Guhilot family became really important.

APARAJITA (C. 661 A.D. - C 671 A.D.)

The Kundesvara inscription of C.661 A.D. states that Aparajita 'chose for his chief leader the son of Siva, the Maharaja Varanasimha whose strength was never broken and who assailed the vile adversaries'. It is evident from this inscription that Aparajita was one of the important and powerful kings of the dynasty.

Aparajita was a patron of both religion and learning. The Kundesvara inscription inform us that his wife, Yashomati built a temple of Vishnu and poet Damodara and artisan Yashobhata adorned his court.

38. E.I., Vol. IV, p.30.

39. Ibid., Vol.IV, p.30.

MAHENDRA II

Aparajita's son and successor was Mahendra II. No inscription of this king has yet been discovered and his name is only known from the Atapura inscription⁴⁰ which records to him some common praise.

KALABHOJA (BAPPA C.713 A.D. - C 753 A.D.)

Mahendra II was succeeded by Kalabhoja. The⁴¹ Atapura⁴² and Kumbhalagarna⁴³ inscriptions mention Kalabhoja as the father of Khummana and the Narlai⁴⁴ and KayaSagara Talava inscriptions refer to Bappa as the father of the same king Khummana. Hence it is evident that Kalabhoja and Bappa were identical. G.S. Ojha⁴⁵ rightly suggests an agreement between tradition⁴⁶ and epigraphy by taking the name of Bappa as a mere title (biruda) of Kalabhoja.

40. I.A., Vol.XXXIX, p.186.

41. I.A., Vol.XXXIX, p.186-191.

42. N.P.P., Vol.I, p.275.

43. B.I., p.141.

44. B.I., p.153.

45. N.P.P.(S.1977), pt.I, p.265.

46. Khyāta:Nansi, Vol.I, p.13.
Nansi holds that Khummana was the son of Bappa.

A strange story regarding Bappa's birth is narrated in the Rajaprasasti Mahakavya⁴⁷. It states that 'Nandi, the personal attendant (of Siva), seeing whom Gauri (or Parvati) shed tears from her eyes in olden times, became Bashpa. Chanda, a gana (or personal attendant) of Sambhu, became the sage Harita risi. Bashpa became his pupil, and, through his favour and by his directions, dwelt in the city of Nagahrida'. That Bashpa and Haritarisi were incarnations of Nandi and Chanda respectively has no historical truth. Such cases of incarnation are quite impossible and as such cannot be accepted as true.

Regarding Bappa's infancy, an interesting story is told by Col. Tod⁴⁸. Relying on the tradition, he says how Bappa, when only three years old, was conveyed to the fortress of Bhandero 'where he was protected by a Bhila of Yadu descent' and how Bappa married a daughter of Solanki chief during the

47. B.I., p.152.

48. Tod: Rajasthan (Routledge Edn. 1950), Vol. I, p. 161.

progressed of the game of swinging⁴⁹. Though Tod's tale of Bappa's early life is apparently quite strange, we need not entirely disbelieve his account. No doubt Tod has exaggerated, but it is quite possible that Bappa may have married a Solanki princess.

No inscription of Bappa himself has yet been discovered, but in the Natha inscription of Haravanana dated 971 A.D., a glowing account of his achievements is given. He is described therein as 'the moon among the kings of the Gonila dynasty'⁵⁰.

The greatest achievement of Bappa was the conquest of Chitoda. The Rajaprasasti Manakavya says', having conquered the kings called Manuraja of the race of Mori, he (Bappa) took Chitrakuta (Chitoda) and reigned there like a supreme monarch'.⁵¹ Col. Tod

49. Tod: Rājasthān (Routledge Edn. 1950), Vol. I, p. 182.

50. B.I., p. 71.

51. Ibid., p. 153.

thinks that Bappa may have conquered Chitoda in 727 A.D. 52. G.S.Ojha holds a different view and 53 says that this incident took place in 734 A.D. But there does not seem to be any reason for their 54 assumptions. It is evident from Mana's inscription that the construction of Mana's tank at Chitoda was complete by 713 A.D. After Mana, Dhavala of the Mori dynasty was reigning in the vicinity of Chitoda at least u to 738 A.D., the date of his Kansuvana 55 inscription. As we know that Bappa seized the fort from Mana and not from Dhavala, the seizure must have occurred sometime between 713 A.D. and 738 A.D. But a curious break in Mana's records after 713 A.D. tends to show that he lost the possession of the fort shortly after 713 A.D. It is not unlikely that Bappa undertook

53. History of Udaipur, Vol.I, p.109.

54. I.A., Vol.LIX, p.255; E.I., XXII, p.206; R.M.R.1917-18, p.3; A.S.I., Vol.XXIII, p.111.

55. Prog.Report A.S.I., W.C, 1906, p.61; Fl^{et}:Gupta Inscriptions, p.141.

a campaign against the Mori king Mana and captured the fort in 713 A.D.

Bappa's successes were not only against the Moris of Chitoda. Among others, he also claimed victories over the Arabs. The Nausari inscription⁵⁶ of 739 A.D. says that the Arabs led their expeditions of conquest over Sindh, Cuten, Kathiawada, Canvada and Mori as well as Gurjara territories. It is to note that the Mori king who suffered serious reverses at the hands of the Arabs, was Dhavala of Kansuvana inscription of 738 A.D.⁵⁷ Al-Biladuri⁵⁸ also claims that under the vigorous rule of the Arab governor, Junaid of Sindh, the Arabs won many notable victories over the kings of Western India. This successful march of the Arabs upto the great fort Chitoda brought them in conflict with the Guhilots, which resulted in victory for the latter. Thus the capture of Chitoda and the

56. Elliot, Vol. I, p. 126; B.G., Vol. I, pt. I, p. 109; Modivāla, p. 77.

57. Fleet: Gupta Inscriptions, p. 141; Prog. Report A.S.I., W.C., 1906, p. 61.

58. Elliot, Vol. I, p. 109.

defeat of the Arabs by Bappa increased the power and prestige of the Gunilot kingdom to a very great extent.

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The *Majaprasasti Manakavya* has assigned too much importance to the strength of Bappa. It states that he wore a turban measuring 35 long hands, a golden anklet weighing 50 palas and kept a sword weighing one 'mana (made of 40 seers called prasthas)'. No historical facts can be derived from these conventional exaggerations and it is difficult to explain satisfactorily why Bappa has after been mentioned in later Gunilot records in an exaggerated style. Perhaps this may have been simply because there were popular ballads about his brave deeds which made him famous in later centuries, but which are now lost.

Bappa was also a patron of religion. The *Rasiaji's Chatri* inscription states that he 'established the Yajnasambha and worshipped the two lotus-like

feet of Haritarasi Muni' ⁶⁰ in the temple of Ekalingaji
at Nagada. He was a devotee of Shiva ⁶¹. The Ekalingaji
inscription of 1483 A.D. ⁶² informs us that 'king
Basappa meditating upon the god who bears the new moon
in his crown, was no doubt merged into the light of
Sankara'. It is clear from these epigraphical references
that he was a staunch follower of Shaivism.

KHUMMANAI

Bappa was succeeded by his son Khummanai. ⁶³
The Rajaprasasti Mahakavya contains only a passing
reference to the reign of Khummanai. Nothing is known
from this inscription except the name of this king.
Khummanai's successor was Mattata who is also known as

60. B.I., p. 78.

61. B.I., p. 124.

62. B.I., p. 125.

63. I.A., Vol., XXXIX, pp. 186-191; B.I., p. 153

Manttata in the Kasiāji's Chhatra inscription of
 1274 A.D.⁶⁴ This inscription says that Manttata⁶⁵
 'destroyed the miseries of the world'. No definite
 information can be derived from this inscription
 regarding Manttata's reign. The son and successor of
 Manttata was Bhārtribhata⁶⁶ 'who was on this earth
 as brave as Kartikaswami'. The Kasiāji's Chhatra
 inscription of 1274 A.D. states that Bhārtribhata⁶⁷
 was 'strongly devoted to the worship of Sankara'.
 This indicates that Bhārtribhata I was a follower of
 Shaivism. The same inscription praises him as a great
 warrior terrifying his enemies by the sound of his
 voice and destroying them by his strong horses⁶⁸.

64. B.I., p.80. 'king Manttata destroyed the miseries of
 all the world, (he) could not be conquered by his
 enemies, and (he) with his devoted counsellor was
 as brilliant as the sun with his red disk'. Verse 25
 of the same record adds: 'As the Pātala destroying
 at the beginning, with great anger, Duryodhana-Vānini
 protected by Dussana and thus conveying for all
 eternity his glory into Karna (the ear) wrote the
 praises of his victory with the ink of tears dribbling
 from the eyes of the wives of the proud king Mālava
 on the slabs of their breasts.'

65. B.I., p.80.

66. B.I., p.80.

67. B.I., p.80.

68. Ibid., p.80.

Another inscription says that he 'delighted women by
his protection (and) the Pandits with presents .⁶⁸
As is evident from the inscriptions, Bhartribhata I
does not seem to have made any great achievement.

SIMHA

Bhartribhata I's son and successor was
Simha. The Nasinji's Chatri inscription says that⁷⁰
Agnasimha 'was brilliant as the son of hot summer'⁷¹
An inscription of Samarasimha dated 1278 A.D.
describes him as a follower of Shaivism.

KHUMBANA II

The Atapura inscription of 977 A.D. states

68. B.I., p.80.

70. B.I., p.80.

71. H.R., Vol.I, p.370.

that Simha's son and successor was Krummana II. He is mentioned as 'the weigher of the weight in gold of himself with his son and wife' in the Nanapura inscriptions.⁷² This shows that Krummana II was a pious and magnificent king. No inscription of Krummana II himself has yet been discovered, but in the *Rasa* of Dalapati-Vijaya,⁷³ an account of his achievements is given.

The greatest event of Krummana II's reign was his fight against the Muslims. The *Rasa* of Dalapati-Vijaya says that his reign was marked by the raids of the Muslims and he had to wage twenty-four wars against the enemies. Making due allowance for exaggeration in the bardic tradition, we find some historical truth in it. It is very likely that the Krummana *Rasa* of Dalapati-Vijaya refers to the expedition which was sent by the Caliph Al-Mamun (C.813 A.D. - C.853 A.D.) against Chiteda.⁷⁴ The

72. B.I., p.115.

73. H.R., Vol.I, p.424.

74. Tod:Rājāsthān (Crooke's Edn.), Vol.1, p.283, Tod calls Almamun 'Khorasanput Mamud'.

disturbances caused by the Arab incursions had been of sufficiently serious nature, for the Khumana Raza that being unable to cope with the danger single-handed, Khumana II was compelled to invoke the good offices of his feudatory chiefs to retrieve the situation.

The Raza claims that Khumana II hurled back the Muslim advance by the play of his matchless fighting ⁷⁵. The successes of Khumana II over the Muslims were so effective that Razi's Canatri inscription informs us that Khumana II washed away ⁷⁶ 'whole forests of the army of enemies' and saved the country. Another record says that 'the sword of Khumana, like a cloud in his sky-like march, bathed the brave warriors with pur shower (dropping) from its blade on a day (rendered) cloudy ⁷⁷ by the dust (raised) from the earth by his army;

75. H.R., Vol.I, p.424.

76. B.I., p.81.

77. Ibid., p.81.

such references definitely point to the circumstance which caused a panic among the invaders and tell us that the battle ended in a victory for Khummana II amid scenes of awful carnage and confusion.

MANAYAKA

Khummana II was succeeded by his son Manayaka⁷⁶. The Nasiaji's Canatri inscription says that Manayaka 'whose only assistant at the head of battle fields was his own hand, ruled the earth'⁷⁸. Another inscription calls him a very powerful king 'whose mischievous enemies unable to curb their senses, rushed forward and fell like butterflies, into the flame and sparks of his fiery wrath'⁸⁰. No definite information of his reign is available from these conventional praises bestowed on Manayaka by the

76. I.A., Vol.XXXIX, pp.16-191.

78. B.I., p.81.

80. B.I., p.91.

later inscriptions. These references can be interpreted as signifying that he wielded considerable influence within his territory.

Manayaka was succeeded by Arummana III⁸¹.

The Atapura inscription records that Arummana III was the successor of Manayaka but it does not explicitly indicate the relation between the two kings.⁸² No historical fact can be derived from the Atapura inscription about the reign of Arummana III. He was just an early king bereft of much powers.

81. I.A., Vol.XXXIX, pp.186-191.

82. I.A., Vol.XXXIX, pp.186-191.

CHAPTER V

RISE OF THE GUHILOTS

BHARTRIBHATA II TO SAMANTASIMHA

(C. 942 A.D. - C. 1179 A.D.)

BHARTRIBHATA II (C. 942 A.D. - C. 951 A.D.)

The Partābgara inscription of the Pratiharā ruler, Mahendrapāla I dated 946 A.D. states that on the Śhrāvanasudī Śaṃvata 999 Mahārājādhirāja Bhartribhata made a grant of the village Vavvulika to the temple of Indrarājādityadeva of Gñontāvarsika¹. It is evident from this record that Bhartribhata ascended the throne sometime in 942 A.D. It is significant that the same contemporary inscription credits him with the title, Mahārājādhirāja denoting Bhartribhata II's sovereign status and shows that Bhartribhata II was regarded as one of the important and powerful kings of his time. He reigned at a period which was marked by great events and the Guhilot ruler played no minor part in the affairs of the time.

Bhartribhata II extended the sphere of his

1. E.I., Vol. XIV, pp. 176-186 ff.

influence by forming a matrimonial alliance with the Rashtrakutas. The Hasti Kundi inscription of Dhavala² says that Bhatribhata married Mahalakshmi³, the daughter of a Rashtrakuta Mamata (C.933 A.D.). This matrimonial alliance with the Rashtrakuta family undoubtedly increased the power of the Guhilots and helped Bhatribhata II to consolidate his position.

Bhatribhata II also extended his arms of friendship to the Pratiharas. The Partabgarh inscription of the Pratihara king Mahendrapala II dated 946 A.D. bestows high praise on Bhatribhata II and recognises him king of kings, Maharajadhiraja. The same record informs us that both the Pratihara king Mahendrapala II and Guhilot king Bhatribhata II made landgrants of the village Kharpadraka and

^{v.L.39,}
2. I.A., 1910, p.191, Verse 4.

खोम्माणमात्मजमवाप स चाथ तस्मा -
ल्लोक अमेक तिलको जति भर्तृ पट्ट : ॥३॥
राष्ट्र कूट कुलोद्भूता महालक्ष्मीरिति प्रिया
अथ सास्या भवत्तत्त्वं तनयः श्रीमदल्लट ॥४॥

3. E.I., Vol.X, p.27.

Vavvulika situated in Ghontavarsika to the temples of Vata Yekshmini Devi and Indrarajaulityadeva respectively. This indicates that both the kings were on friendly terms in the beginning. But the relation between the two houses became estranged during the reign of Bhartribhata's son Allata.

These cordial alliances with the Rashtrakutas and the Pratiharas undoubtedly increased the political prestige of the Gunilots. Bhartribhata I really founded the future greatness of the Gunilot dynasty. Without openly defying the paramount power of the Gurjara-Pratiharas, he brought the Gunilots into fore-front and left a great opportunity for his son and successor Allata to utilise.

Bhartribhata II was not only a diplomatic ruler. He was also a patron of religion. He constructed a temple of Adivarana (Visnu) at the Gangodbhata⁴ tirtha in the city of Anada in 945 A.D. He is also

4. R.E.R., 1914, p.2; E.I., Vol. XIX, Appendix, p.11, No. 60.

praised for having made a perpetual landgrant to the
deity Indrarājādityadeva of Ghontavarsika .

ALLATA (C.951 A.D. - C.971 A.D.)

The Sarnesvara inscription of Allata
dated 951 A.D. states that he was the son of the
queen Mahalaksmi . He is honoured with the
epithet 'Medinipati' in the same record .

The greatest achievement of Allata was
his victory over the Pratiharas king Devapala of Kanauj .

5. E.I., Vol. XIV, pp. 176-186 ff.

6. E.I., Vol. IV, pp. 284, 285; B.I., p. 66; I.A., Vol. LVIII, p. 131.

7. B.I., p. 66, Verse I.

8. D.H.N.I., Vol. II, p. 1173 fn. 2; D.H., Vol. I, p. 420. fn. 3.

[दु]र्भरिं यो देवपालं व्यधात् ।

च्यत्र च्यंङ्गदा भिष्यात्—

विदलद् दक्षधलं संयुगे

निस्त्रिंशत्तदंघ्रं --- कबंधं व्यधात् ।

Derakulika Insc. Ahāda

A fragmentary inscription in a small Jain temple at
Ahada says that Allata 'killed in fight his powerful
enemy 'Devapāla'.⁹ This defeat of Devapāla was
probably due to the decadent state of the Pratihara
monarchy. About the year 540 A.D. the hasntrakūtas,
under Arisnall¹⁰, undertook a campaign against
the Pratihara empire. As a result of this, parts of
Central India, including the important cities of
Kalanjara and Chitrakuta, fell into hasntrakūta hands'.¹¹

9. H.R., Vol.II, p.426.

According to Dr.L.D.Barnett the identification of this
Devapala with the Pratihara Devapala of Kanauj is possible
(D.H.N.I., Vol.II, p.1170 f.n.2). Dr.R.S.Tripatali says
that the Devapalas of Siadoni inscription (E.I.I, 113) and
the Kanjurano inscription (E.I., p. 23, 134 verse 43) are
identical and states 'In the former Ksitipala is said to
have had a son named Devapala who was ruling in 548 - 49
A.D., while in the latter we are told that the Chandella
Yashovarman received an image of Vakuntha from one
Devapala son of Merambapala. As Yashovarman's reign closed
about the year 554 A.D. it is reasonable to hold that the
two Devapalas were identical'. (H.K., pp. 257, 271-72).

10. Hasntrakutas; Altekar, p.113.

11. Ibid., p.113.

The powerful Chandella king Yashovarman came to the help of the Pratihara emperor who was former's nominal suzerain. The Pratihara ruler recovered his lost territories with the help of the Chandella chief sometime about 553 A.D.¹² but at the cost of Kalanjara and Chitrakuta which Yashovarman kept in his own possession. Yashovarman is described as 'a scorching fire to the Gurjaras' in the Kasjuran inscription of 554 A.D.¹³ which shows that the weak Pratihara ruler could have done little to bring his powerful feudatory under subjection. Circumstances had made Devapala virtually very weak. Availing himself of this favourable opportunity, Allata inflicted a crushing defeat over Devapala and killed him in the battlefield.¹⁴ Considering his remarkable achievement, it is not surprising to find the Sarnesvara inscription bestowing upon him

12. Rāstrakūṭas, Altekar, p.143.

13. E.I., Vol.1, p.128, vs.23.

14. A.R., Vol.17, p.420.

the proud epithet of 'Medinipati' and praising his¹⁵
widely expanding fame.

Allata is also praised for defeating¹⁶
the Munas. The Atapura inscription of 977 A.D.
states that Allata weakened the Munas and married
a Muna princess, Hariyadevi who founded a village
Harshapura after her name.

Great as was Allata as a conqueror, he
was greater still in the arts of administration. The
Sarnesvara inscription of 951 A.D. states that he
organised a strong Central government by appointing
a large number of ministers and advisers at the
Capital¹⁷. Many learned persons adorned his court
Audraditya, the Bhisnagacharya or chief of
medical men, Devaraja, chief of local merchants,
Hammata, the Amatya or the minister and Vasantaraja
were the high dignitaries of his court.

The Gumlot capital became centre of
trade and commerce during Allata's reign. It attracted

15. B.I., p. 68-

16. I.A., Vol. 33, p. 191.

17. B.I., p. 68.

a large number of merchants from far off places viz.,
Karnata, Madhyadesha, Lata and Tanka. The wealth
flowed to the royal treasury and its grandeur was
apparently so great that the Nataka's inscription of
571 A.D. belonging to the reign of his son Naravahana
goes so far as to describe Allata's wife as 'a mine of
diamonds' .

The fame and influence of Allata had also
extended to far off lands on account of his benevolent
religious activities. The Sarnesvara inscription of
his time says that he erected a temple of god Murāri (Visnu).

18. B.I., p.69.

19. B.I., p.71.

20. B.I., p.66. (Allata appears to have essayed the difficult
task of supervising personally the affairs of his wide
kingdom. He was assisted in the task of administration
by an advisory council, which had ministers and
advisers known viz., Sandhivigraha, or the minister
of peace and war, Akshapatalika or keeper of records,
Vandipati or Superintendent of Jails, Bhisagadhiraja
or chief of medical men, Pratinara or Chamberlain,
Amatya minister and a representative of local merchants.

and appointed some gosthikas, Gopa, Prabhasa, Manidhara, Narayana, Bhutta, Sarvadeva and Amzaka to look after the affairs of the temple. Allata also levied regular taxes on all the commodities sold in the market for the maintenance of the temple.

NARAVAHANA (C.371 A.D. - C.377 A.D.)

After a glorious reign lasting for about twenty years, Allata was succeeded by Naravahana, his son by Queen Hariyadevi whose 'fane sueneforth' in the form of Narsapuram²¹. The Sarnesvara inscription of 351 A.D. says that Allata's son was Naravahana who helped his father in the central administration.²² Naravahana's own inscription of 371 A.D. tells us that he was 'possessed of great fortune having herds of elephants²³'.

21. I.A., Vol.XXXIX, pp.186-191.

22. B.I., p.69.

23. B.I., p.71.

Another inscription of 1274 A.D. represents him as 'the lord of the fortunes of the Guhila dynasty'²⁴. These references show that Naravāhana was a very powerful ruler of his time and his reign marked the rising power of the Guhilot dynasty.

Like his grandfather, Bhartribhata II, Naravāhana renewed a policy of friendly relations with the contemporary rulers. He formed a matrimonial alliance with the Chahamanas by marrying a daughter of the Chahamanā ruler, Jejaya of Naddula²⁵.

Like his father, Naravāhana also stood as a bulwark against his enemies. The Matha inscription of 1271 A.D. says that he could not bear the existence of an enemy²⁶, and indicates that he led an expedition of conquest as far as Bhriṅga Kachchana or Lātadesa on the bank of the river Narmada²⁷.

24. B.I., p. 6, (Kasīājī's Chattri Inscription of 1274 A.D.)

25. I.A., Vol. 19, p. 180-181.

26. B.I., p. 71.

27. B.I., p. 71.

This distant campaign brought Haravāhana's influence close to the Paramara kingdom. Fortune was, however, no more favourable to him than to his father, for the Udupur prasasti informs us that the Paramara king Munja (Vakapatirāja) won a notable victory over the 'Karnatas, Latas, Acharas, Colias, and Cedis' .²⁸ The successes of Munja over Latas of Latadesa on the bank of the Narmada, must have disturbed the equilibrium of the Guhilot power. Although a policy of peace and treaty with the contemporary rulers had been the rule with the Guhilot monarchs since long, it could not be carried onwards due to the ambitious aggressions of the Paramaras under Vakapatirāja Munja who despatched his forces far and wide. It seems that Haravāhana's attack on the land of the Latas was

28. E.I., Vol.1, pp.235, 237, vs. 12-14.

only an incident in his conflict with the Paramāras. The Paramāras might have envied the rising power of the Guhilots and the rivalry between the two dynasties culminated during the reign of Naravāhana's grandson, Santikumara, when Munja gave a severe blow to the arms of the Guhilot king.

Unfortunately, the extant portion of Naravāhana's Nātha inscription of 571 A.D. is so fragmentary that it is difficult to draw more definite conclusions from its evidence. G.S. Ojha has, however, brought to light a piece of evidence which tends to show that he entrusted Bripati, son of M yara, with the post of Akshapatale. It shows that Naravāhana succeeded in maintaining the same governmental machinery as was organised by his father, Alata. His

G.S., Vol.1, p.422. (Ānāda inscription)

प्रह्लादप्रसादो भवति नमुर धर्मः
 श्रीरामेश्वरिणी श्रीतदीश्वरिणीरत्नमातुलः श्रीयतिः ॥
 श्रीमदल्लटनराधिपात्मजो
 यो व(ब) भूज नरवाहनाह्वयः ।
 श्रीयतिष्ठत पितुः पदं सुधी -
 श्रीनमस्तपले न्यवेशयत् ॥

court was also attended by learned sages and poets. The sage Vedanga Muni and his pupil Amrakavi were among the high dignitaries of his court.

Naravahanana's reign was marked by the rise of the philosophy of the Lakulishana School of Shaivism, of which Vedanga Muni was an exponent. Naravahanana is praised for having erected a temple

50. B.I., p.71.

1. B.I., p.70. (Regarding the origin of the Lakulishana cult we are told in Naravahanana's inscription that in the country of Barigakacheneha (Breach) through which flows Narmada, the daughter of Naxala the sage Dhrigu being cursed by Murabaid (Visnu) propitiated god Shiva. The latter in the presence of that sage incarnated himself in a form characterised with a club (Lakula) in hand. The place where Shiva thus descended upon the earth was called Kayavarohana. The same record says that here Shiva forgot Kailash and came to be known as Lakulishana followed by a religious cult of his own. The followers of this cult took delight in dhama (ashes) and put on the barks of trees and crowns of Jata (braided hair).

'on the top of the mountain of Asvatnana'. The
Rasajji's Canatri inscription says that Naravahana's
'heart was much pleased with (his) friendship the
lord of Gauri (Shankara)' and the Abu inscription
informs us that 'Naravahana worshipped Shiva with
great reverence'. These references conclusively
indicate that Naravahana was a believer in Shaivism.

SHALIVAHANA (C. 977 A.D.)

The name of, this shadowy monarch was
brought to light by the discovery of the Atapura
inscription of 977 A.D. This record represents
him as the son and immediate successor of Naravahana.
Unfortunately we have no record of Shalivahana's

32. B.I., p.71. (Mount Asvatnana referred to in the
Notun inscription of Naravahana dated 971 A.D. is
modern Mount Asvagrama).

33. B.I., p.83.

34. B.I., p.91.

35. I.A., Vol.39, pp.186-191.

reign and his name is even missing in later inscriptions of the dynasty. The Rajaprasasti Mahakavya contains only a passing reference to his place in the Gahlot genealogy³⁶. We can explain the omission of his name in other records due to the extreme shortness of his reign.

SHAKTIKUMARA (C. 577 A.D. - C. 587 A.D.)

Shalivāhana's successor was Shaktikumara³⁷. The latter's Atapura inscription of 577 A.D. credits him with all the three powers (Prabhasnakti, Vantashakti³⁸ and Utsahasnakti) of paramountcy. It testifies to his reign the city of Anada grew in power rapidly.

Shaktikumara maintained the status quo

36. B.I., p. 255.

37. I.A., Vol. 39, pp. 186-191.

38. Ibid., Vol. 33, pp. 186-191.

in the affairs of civil administration. The Devakulika inscription of Ahada says that his court was attended by Akshapatalika Sripati whose sons - Mattata and Gundala, were 'the two arms of Snaktikumāra'³⁵. The same inscription refers to 'the previously existing practice of offering each year 14 dramma to the sun god (Tapana)'⁴⁰ during his reign. He is also praised as an able administrator in later records. The Rasiāji's Chhatra⁴¹ record of 1274 A.D. compares him with 'the mythical Indra' and praises his 'plendid glory'⁴² and the Abu inscription of 1285 A.D. has bestowed upon him some high praises for his widely expanding fame.

The most important event of Snaktikumāra's

35. A.S.I., W.C., 1906, p. 62; H.R., Vol. I, p. 434 and 437.

40. H.R., Vol. I, p. 434; C. Bendall 'Journey in Nepal', p. 82.

41. B.I., p. 62.

42. Ibid., p. 91.

reign was his conflict with the Paramaras of Dhara. The Hasti Kundi inscription of the Rashtrakuta king, Dhavala dated 808 A.D. states that the powerful Paramara ruler Munjaraja 'destroyed Agnata, the pride of Medapata and avers that Dhavala gave shelter to the armies of a king and of the lord of the Gurjaras when Munjaraja 'caused them to flee'. It is evident from the study of this contemporary evidence that Shaktikumara could not stand against the mighty Paramara ruler, Munjaraja and fled to seek the help of the Rashtrakuta king Dhavala of Hasti Kundi. Because the Rashtrakutas were on friendly terms with the Guhilots on account of the marriage of Dhavala's sister Mahalakshmi with the Guhilot king Bhartribhata-I, the Rashtrakuta Dhavala must have given shelter to the armies of Shaktikumara against the Paramaras. This event of Guhilots' defeat at the hands

3. E.I., Vol.X. (1909-1910), p.17. भंक्रत्वाद्याटं चराभिः प्रकटमिव प्रदं प्रेक्षते भराणां
जये राजन्यजये जनप्रतिजनताजे सां मुंजाजे
44. E.I., Vol.X, p.17. H.R., Vol.I, p.186.

of Munja probably took place sometime in the year 900 A.D.⁴⁵, the last known date of Shaktikumara's reign.

Thus the rising power of the Guhilots was temporarily curbed until the fortune of the dynasty was revived by Vairisima a few years later. As will be seen in the following pages, we know from literary and epigraphic records that the reign of Shaktikumara's son, Ambaprasada, was one of the darkest chapters in the history of the family.

AMBĀPRASĀDA (C. 906 A.D. - C. 1010 A.D.)

Shaktikumara had five sons, Ambaprasada,⁴⁶ Suchivarma⁴⁷, Naravarma⁴⁸, Anantavarma⁴⁹ and Yashovarma⁵⁰ and Ambaprasada was the eldest. He is also mentioned as

45. E.I., Vol.X, p.17.

46. B.I., p.85.

47. B.I., p.73.

48. H.R., Vol.I, p.439.

49. Ibid., Vol.I., p.438.

50. Ibid., Vol.I., p.439.

- 51 - - 52 -
 Amraprasāda and Ambāpasāo in the Nāsiājī's
 Chātri inscription of 1274 A.D. and the Khyāta of
 Nānsī respectively.

The Nāsiājī's Chātri inscription
 credits him with the title of the 'bedapātavanīśa'
 or the lord of bedapāta and says that he 'was like
 Agastya in drying the difficult seelike forces of
 his enemies'⁵³. Thus there is an indication in this
 record that Amba prasāda perhaps attempted to curb
 the growing power of the Paramaras of Dhara with
 this aim in view he sought the help of the Chaulukyas
 and married a princess of the Chaulukya family. The
 Pritniviraja Vijaya⁵⁴ says that the two families
 were allied by marriage and the confederate forces

51. B.I., p.86.

52. Khyāta: Nānsī, Vol.I, p.86.

53. B.I., p.82.

54. H.N., Vol.1, p.436. (Pritnivirāja Vijaya of Jayānaka)

of the two houses succeeded in maintaining equilibrium in power politics.

Immunity from the Paramara danger did not allow Ambaprasada to breathe freely for a long time. The calamity from another corner was not long to come. The Prithvirāja Vijaya⁵⁵ states that the Shakambhari Chahamanas ruler Vajrapatiraja, at once intervened in the affairs of the Gahilots and sent 'the lord of Aghata (Agnatapati), with his army, to the abode of Yama'. This conflict between the Chahamanas and the Gahilots proved fatal to the Gahilot kingdom and afforded splendid opportunity to the Paramara ruler, Bhoja (C. 1010 A.D.-C.1050 A.D.)

55. H.H., Vol.1, p.468 (Prithvirāja Vijaya of Jayānaka sarg 5)

The nephew of Munja of Malavā to penetrate his arms
in the heart of Medapātā. Munja succeeded in his
campaign and seems to have established his power
and influence over the Gujjarot territories. He⁵⁶
erected a temple of Tribhuvanānarāyaṇa in Chitoda .
But the Parāvara influence over Chitoda did not
last long and was soon curbed by the Kalachuri king⁵⁷
Lakṣmī Karnadeva (c.1044 - 1070 A.D.) of Chedi.

SUCHIVARMA

Ambāprasāda was succeeded by his brother
Suchivarma⁵⁸ . The latter's Maṣṭa Maṣṭa inscription
represents him as ' the ocean, timid in transgressing

56. E.I., Vol.XXII, pp.265-68.

57. E.I., Vol.II, p.268; E.I.Vol.II, p.161.

58. B.I., p.63.

his limits'.⁵⁹ This record probably shows the non-aggressive attitude of this king.

Shuchivarma confined himself to consolidate the Gunilot kingdom which had suffered the serious reverses at the hands of the Paramara rulers. He, like his father continued matrimonial alliance with the Chaulukyas by marrying his son Hanilesvara with a Chaulukya princess Mahima, the daughter of a king Soduka.⁶⁰

NARAVARMA

Shuchivarma was succeeded by his younger brother Naravarma.⁶¹ The Nasik's Chhatra inscription of 1274 A.D. says that he was 'like a stroke of the thunderbolt to his numerous enemies.'⁶² The same

59. B.I., p.73.

60. B.I., p.73.

61. H.R., Vol.1, p.433.

62. B.I., p.85.

record seems to depict a picture of some murderous assault made by Naravarma, but in the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to unravel the truth.

ANANTAVARMA

Anantavarma lost his life perhaps in the course of the prolonged wars during the reign of his brother. No epigraphic record of Anantavarma is known and his name is mentioned only in the Kumbhalagara⁶³ inscription which contains just a passing reference to his existence in the Gaudiot genealogy.

KIRTIVARMA

Naravarma's successor was his brother

- 64
Kirtivarma . No inscription of this king is
available and his name is only known from a few later
inscriptions, which accord to him some common praise.
He is mentioned as Yashovarman^{- 65} in the Kumbhslagarh
inscription of 1460 A.D. The Abu inscription of
1483 A.D. says that he took pleasure in 'penance
excessively rigid' and 'plunged (himself) in the
waters of heaven'⁶⁶ . This reference indicates that
Kirtivarma was a weak ruler.

YOGARAJA

- 67
Kirtivarma was succeeded by Yogaraja .
No definite information of his reign is available from

64. B.I., p.91.

65. H.K., Vol.I, p.439.

66. B.I., p.91.

67. B.I., p.115; H.K.Vol.I, p.443.

either the literary or epigraphic sources. His successor⁶⁸ was Vairata. Not many details of the latter's reign⁶⁹ are known except that he was a descendant of Ailata⁷⁰.

HANSAPALA

- 70

Vairata's successor was Hansapala⁷¹ also mentioned as Vansapala in the Hanapura inscription of 1440 A.D.⁷² The Bherāgūta inscription of the Kailachuri King, Gayakarnadeva (C. 1120 - 1151 A.D.) praises him as a gallant warrior. This shows that the Gunilots had begun to extend their friendly arms to the

68. E.I. p.91; H.R.Vol.I, p.443; I.A.XVI, pp.345 ff; Sadadi inscription of Rana Kumbha B.I., p.115 ff.

69. H.R., Vol.I, p.441.

70. H.R., Vol.I, p.444.

71. B.I., p.113.

72. E.I., Vol.II, p.15-16; Hanspala is also called Prāgvate Vanipala, see also the slightly variant information in Karanbel stone inscription, I.A., Vol.XVIII, pp.214-18.

Kalāchuris of Chedi.

VAIRISIMHA

Ansapala was succeeded by his son
Vairisimha⁷³. The Eneragata inscription of Gayakarnadeva
(C. 1125 A.D. - 1151 A.D.) credits Vairisimha with the
title of 'Wasudhānipatā' or Lord of the earth.

The mention of the Guhilot king in terms of
respect in the inscription of another dynasty suggests
that the prestige of the Guhilots had greatly revived
and that their friendship was valued by other kings. In
the Eneragata inscription of the Kalachuri king
Gayakarnadeva (C. 1125 A.D. - 1151 A.D.) Vairisimha is

⁷³ B.I., p.114.



described as one 'who deprived his foes of his territories and compelled them to seek shelter in the caves'⁷⁴. This indicates that Vairisimha attempted to revive the lost prestige of his dynasty. There are indications in Dheragnata inscription that the Gunilot kingdom was disturbed by an uprising of some Vassals (Samantas) of Vairisimha⁷⁵. The effects of this rebellion were so severe that the kingdom seemed as if placed in a swing and his position was so weakened that his commands were disregarded in the purlieus of his own capital. But as the Dheragnata

74. E.I., Vol., II, p.12, Vs. 10-12 (Dheragnata inscription)

तस्याभवत्तनुभवः प्रथमतस्तमस्त -
सामन्त शेरु शिरोमणि रञ्जितांहेः।
श्रीवैरि सिद्ध वसुधाधिपति विरि शुद्ध -
तुष्टे निधिर्न परमार्थिजनस्य चोच्चैः॥

75. E.I., Vol.II, p.12.

inscription itself indicates , Vairisinha soon put forth great efforts to suppress the Samantas completely. These sporadic fights and internal unrest menaced the safety of the capital to such an extent that Vairisinha had to construct a rampart round the city of Ahada (Shrimada Aghata)⁷⁶ for better safety and protection. The result of it was that peace and prosperity once again smiled at Ahada and Vairisinha made his own name full of significance on this earth⁷⁷ .

VIJAYASINHA (C.1100 A.D. - 1157 A.D.)

Vairisinha had twenty-two sons⁷⁸ . He was

76. H.R., Vol.I, 444, (Aumbhalagara inscription of 1400 A.D.)

ततः श्रीहंसपालश्च वैरिसिंहो नृपाग्रणी ॥१४॥
 स्यापितो मित्रको मेन श्रीमधुपाटपत्तने ।
 आकारश्च चतुर्दिक्षु चतुर्गोपुरभूषितः ॥१५॥

77. B.I., p. 31.

78. H.R., Vol.I, 444.

succeeded by his eldest son Vijayasimha. The Kadamba grant of the latter dated 1103 A.D. states that he was a very powerful king, The Paladi inscription of 1110 A.D. claims that the Gunilot kingdom grew into enormous dimensions during the reign of Vijayasimha.

Vijayasimha reigned at a time when events of great importance were happening. By this time new relationships in inter-state politics seem to have developed when the houses of Gunilots, Paramaras and Kalachuris were now cementing their ties by knitting themselves in a common bondage

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1. A.S., Vol. II, pp. 45-46. (G.S. Ojha claims to have discovered the Kadamba grant of Vijayasimha; It is incised on two plates and contains the genealogy of the Gunilots; Rajputana Gazetteers Vol. II-A (Mewar Residency), 1906, p. 4; A.S. Vol. XXIX, Appendix p. 48 No. 176; Dr. F. N. S. Chaudharker is inclined to refer the ripad (Jodhpur) inscription of Ana Sri Rajkula Vijayasimha reigning at Piplalapada in the V.S. 1024 or 1147 A.D. to this king (A.S., XX, p. 48 No. 350).

80. R.M.A., 1912, p. 5.

through a process of matrimonial alliances. The wedding of Sayamaladevi⁶¹, the daughter of the Paramara, Udayaditya (C. 1060 A.D. - 1080 A.D.) with Vijayasimha of the Gunilot dynasty suggests an alliance between the two hitherto struggling dynasties against the imperialism of the Chalukyas who under Jayasimha Siddharaja (C. 1034 A.D. - 1144 A.D.) had become by far the strongest power in Western India after the death of Bhaja Paramara (C. 1010 A.D. - 1055 A.D.) To underline these political arrangements and for bringing further equilibrium of power, Vijayasimha gave his daughter, Alhana⁶² in marriage to the Malavari Gayakarnadeva

i. H.N., Vol.II, p.45; E.I., Vol.II, p.45.

पृथ्वीवर्ति विजयसिंह इति प्रवर्द्ध -

मानः सदा जगति मरुत मशर सुपांशुः ॥ २० ॥

तस्याभवत्सालव मण्डलाधि -

नाथो दयादित्यसुता सुरपा ।

शृङ्गारिणी श्यामलदेव्युदार -

चरित चिन्तामरिणश्चिर्त क्षीः ॥ २१ ॥

(C. 1115 A.D. - 1151 A.D.) son of Yashakerna (C.1073 A.D. - 1115 A.D.). These matrimonial alliances with the Paramaras and the Kalachuris undoubtedly increased the political prestige of the Gunilot house.

Vijayasinha's successes were not only in establishing friendly relations with the Paramaras and Kalachuris. Among others, he claimed victory over Ripada (modern Jodhpur) region in the north. The Ripada inscription says that Vijayasinha was reigning in 1147 A.D. at Pippalapada⁸⁵ in peace and prosperity.

ARISIMHA

Vijayasinha was succeeded by his son⁸⁴ Arisimha⁸⁵ who was followed by Chodasimha. no

84, B.I., XX, p.43, no. 511.

84. B.I., p.91 (Abu inscription of 1100 A.D.)

85. B.I., p.91.

inscription either of Arisima or of Chodasima has yet been discovered.

VIKRANASIMA

The ⁶Abu inscription of 1005 A.D. records that Vikranasima 'was like death incarnate to his opponents'. Curiously enough, Vikranasima has been referred to as the elder brother (agraja)⁸⁷ of Chodasima in the Ruzbihanagar inscription of 1400 A.D. This confusion in their relationship is probably due to the entire absence of contemporary evidence. But the statement of the Abu inscription is to be preferred, for its date 1005 A.D. is closer to the reign of Chodasima.

86. B.I., p. 3.

87. H.R. II, p. 446, fn. 3.

than the date of the Numbhalagarn record.

Vikramasimha is also known as Vikramakesari⁸⁸ and Punja⁸⁹ in the Gudiect records. No definite information of his reign is available from these inscriptions.

HANASIMHA

Vikramasimha was succeeded by his son⁹⁰ Hanasimha. Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar identifies the latter with Rana Sri Rajakula Hanasimha of Ajahari inscription⁹¹ of 1107 A.D. (It is very likely that Hanasimha acted as governor (Mahamandalesvara) at Chandapalli or Chandravati

88. H.R.II, p.446, f.n.3.

89. H.R.I, p.447 (Ekalinga Mahatmya)

90. B.I., pp.113-115 (Nepura inscription), H.R.II, p.446 f.n.3)

91. A.S.I., R.C., 1910-11, p.51. See also A.I.XX Appendix, p.45, No.514, also f.n.1 on the same page/.

during the reign of his father. Mahasimha is mentioned as Sarna in the Kalinga Mahātmya, which tells us that Sarna constructed a strategic fort at Mount Ahor³².

The Rajaprasasti Mahākavya refers to him as a 'Nripa' and praises him for his victory over Mokasimha, a Parivata king of Mandora. (Jodhpur)³³. As is evident from the inscriptions, Mahasimha does not seem to have made any great achievements, although he may have somewhat extended the Guhilot dominion, presumably towards Jodhpur (Mandora).

It is interesting to note that during his reign the Guhilots branched off into two sections, one of which was known as Kavalas (Kajakula) and the other as Kana³⁴.

32. H.R.II, p. 447. The Kalinga Mahātmya gives the name of Sarna's father as Sri Kunja and records that Sarna had two sons - Mahasimha and Ashvasimha.

33. B.I., p. 154; Rajputana Gazetteers Vol. II-A, pt. I, p. 151.

34. B.I., p. 154; H.R.II, p. 447.

KSHEMASIMHA

The Kumbhalagarn inscription of 1460 A.D. records that Kshemasimha (Kshasimha) was followed by his eldest son Mahakshasimha. The other inscription of the family make no mention of the name of Mahakshasimha. It is very likely that Mahakshasimha was a very weak ruler. He was succeeded by his younger brother Kshemasimha⁹⁵. The Abu inscription says that Kshemasimha 'extirpating all seditious persons by the feat of his powerful arms brought security on the earth'⁹⁶. No definite information of his reign is available from the above epigraphic evidence.

SANANTASIMHA (C.1171 A.D. - 1178 A.D.)

Kshemasimha was succeeded by his son

95. A.R.I.E, p.448 (Kumbhalagarn inscription)

⁹⁷
Sāmantasinha . Two inscriptions of his reign, the
Jagata inscription of 1171 A.D. ⁹⁸ and the Solaja
inscription of 1173 A.D. ⁹⁹ have been discovered.
The Abu inscription of 1255 A.D. says that he
'deprived his neighbouring monarchs (Samantas) of
everything' ¹⁰⁰ . This shows that the king expected
his feudatories (Samantas) to show their eternal
gratitude to his house by obedience to his every
wish. As a result when he deprived them of everything,
they developed a resentful hostility towards him.
They nursed a strong favour and resolved not to take
orders any longer from their too exacting benefactor.
Now the king was more deeply outraged than before
and suppressed the feudatories completely.

97. B.I., p. 92,

98. R.M.R., 1914-15, p. 3, R.R.II, p. 40, I.R., LIII, p. 100, N. 2.

99. R.M.R., 1914-15, p. 3.

100. B.I., p. 92-

The greatest achievement of Śāmantasimha was his victory over the Chaulukyas. The Surathotsava-kāvya of Somesvara says that the Chaulukya or ruler Ajayapala of Gujara¹⁰¹ta suffered 'the torturing pains of wounds' at the hands of Śāmantasimha. It is evident from Somesvara's testimony that the Chaulukyas under Ajayapala invaded the Guhilot kingdom sometime during the reign of Śāmantasimha. A reminiscence of this battle between the Guhilots and the Chaulukyas is also preserved in the Neminātha inscription of 1230 A.D.¹⁰²

101. I.A., Vol. LIII, p. 101. Surathotsava Kāvya Sarga 15 by Somesvara)

102. I.A., Vol. III, pp. 200-04 & 208-15; Ibid Vol. VIII, pp. 211-16, V. 36; B.I., p. 100. Prānādāna was the younger brother of Chandravati Paramara Dharavarṣa (1165-A.D.-1210 A.D.) An inscription in the shrine of Neminātha on Mount Abu dated 1230 A.D. claims 'his (Dharavarṣa's) younger brother Prānādāna, whose sword was dexterous in defending the illustrious Gurjara king, when his power had been broken on the battle field by Śāmantasimha, again displayed on earth the behaviour of the greatest enemy of the descendants of Daṇu'. (Abu inscription 1230 A.D. composed by Somesvara writer of Kirtī Kāvya (I.A. Vol. VIII, p. 211)).

which claims that Prahlādāna, the younger brother of the Paramāra ruler, Dharavarṣa (C.1155 A.D.-1113 A.D.) of Chandravati or Ābū¹⁰³ was dexterous in defending the illustrious Gurjara king when his power had been broken on the battlefield by Samantasimha¹⁰⁴. This shows that the Chaulukyas formed an alliance with the Paramaras of Chandravati to march against the Guhilots. Prahlādāna carried his arms as far as the Guhilot territories but was defeated and driven away by Samantasimha¹⁰⁴.

We have already seen that the Guhilot king Vijayasimha (1108 A.D. - 1147 A.D.) formed a matrimonial alliance with the Kalachuris of Chedi and Paramaras of Malava against the Chaulukyas of Gujrata and under Jayasimha Siddharāja (1094 A.D. - 1144 A.D.) were transformed into one of the strongest powers of Western India. The Chaulukya ruler Jayasimha Siddharāja's successor was Kumarapala (1144 A.D. - 1175 A.D.) who led

103. E.I., Vol. VIII, p. 211. The Paramaras of Ābū were feudatories of Gujarat Chaulukyas ever since the reign of Jayasimha Siddharāja (1094 A.D.-1144 A.D.)

104. E.I., Vol. VIII, p. 211.

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vigorous campaigns far and wide. A study of the circumstances leads to the conclusion that the ascendancy of the Chaulukya rulers rankled in the minds of other India princes, so that a coalition among the latter was formed. This resulted in the downfall of the Chaulukya supremacy and during the reign of Kumārāpala's successor, Ajayapala (1173 A.D. - 1176 A.D.) the Chaulukyas suffered a definite loss of power and were forced by Samantasinha to retreat.

The precise date of Samantasinha's success over Ajayapala is not known. The earliest possible date may be guessed from the consideration of the circumstance that until 1173 A.D. or sometime after, the Chaulukya king Kumārāpala of Gujarat occupied a position of predominance in western India. It was only after the death of Kumārāpala that

105. D.A.N.I., Vol.II, p.1177.

Ajayapāla overran the Guhilot kingdom. Hence Ajayapāla's defeat seems to have come sometime in 1174 A.D. The defeat of Ajayapāla was an event of far-reaching importance and increased the power and prestige of the Guhilots to a very great extent.

Sick at heart, the defeated Ajayapāla made haste to sign a treaty with the Chahamanas of ¹⁰⁶Madhura. The Kumbhraj inscription of 1180 A.D. ¹⁰⁷ states that the Chaulukyas summoned Kirtipāla (1173 A.D. - 1180 A.D.) ¹⁰⁸ son of the Chahamana ruler, Ananadeva of Madhura, to march against the Guhilots. This diplomatic scheme, brought the gallant Guhilot warrior close to the Chahamanas enmity, and he, therefore, resolved to try his strength against the avowed enemies of his house. Caught between two fires the Guhilot forces had been overwhelmed and with calamitousness driven into exile, the crisis came to a tragic close. The struggle which ended in victory for the Chaulukyas is a splendid tribute to the lofty spirit of

106. H.R., Vol.I., p.451, f.n.2.

107. H.R., Vol.I., p.451, f.n.3.

108. H.R., Vol.XI., pp.77, 78.

the Chahamanas of Naddula ¹⁰⁹.

This disaster, which reads like a repetition of Shaktikumara's rout at the hands of the Paramara ruler Munjaraja of Malava probably did not occur long before the year 1173 A.D. the date ¹¹⁰ of the Solaja inscription,

The defeat of Samantasimha proved fatal ¹¹¹ to his prestige. The Abu inscription of 1165 A.D. says that the baffled feudatories (Samantas) again plucked up courage and started disputes over questions of competency of the reigning king, Samantasimha. They soon persuaded him to abdicate in favour of his alert younger brother, Kumarasimha who recovering the lands which had gone to the enemy, once more gave them a ¹¹² (real)king'. Thus Samantasimha saved himself from the

109. I.A., LIII, p.101; L.I., XI, pp.47-48.

110. R.A.R., 1914-15, p.3; H.A., I, p.449.

111. D.I., pp.92-93.

112. Ibid., p.92-93.

humiliation of being deposed, a step on which he had long meditated. He naturally felt distressed and disgraced for his failure in maintaining the kingdom, and abdicated in favour of his younger brother Kumarasimha. Reluctantly admitting his discomfiture,¹¹³ he migrated to Vagada (modern Dungarpur) .

113. H.R.II, pp.453-454.

CHAPTER VI

THE GUHILOT KINGDOM AT ITS ZENITH

(C.1173 A.D.- C.1364 A.D.)

KUMARASIMHA TO HAMMIRA

KUMARASIMHA

Samantasimha was succeeded by his younger brother Kumarasimha. The Abu inscription of 1285 A.D. says 'Kumarasimha made his army, whose splendour had been dimmed by its separation from the descendants of Amudama, such as knew no separation from the dynasty of the Guhilots.¹ This indicates that Kumarasimha attempted to revive the lost prestige of the Guhilot power which had suffered serious reverses during the reign of Samantasimha at the hands of the Chaulukyas of Gujarat and Chahamanas of Naddula.

The most important event of Kumarasimha's time was the renewal of the friendly alliance between

1. B.I., p.92.

the two hitherto struggling houses of the Chaulukyas of Gujarata and the Guhilots. The Aumbhalagarn inscription of 1460 A.D. informs us that Kumarasinha regained his lost territories of Agnata with the help of a Gurjara king. The king of Gujarata who helped him was no doubt the Chaulukya ruler, Baladev³ (1178 A.D. - 1241 A.D.). It is very likely that under a critical situation when the Chaulukya kingdom was threatened by the raids of Mohammad Ghorī in 1178 A.D., Baladev³ was compelled to unite himself in friendship with the Guhilots. The Aumbhalagarn inscription claims that the joint effort of the Chaulukyas and Guhilots compelled the Chahamanā king, Kirtipala of Naddula, to retreat and the conflict ended for the Chahamanas

2. I.A., Vol.LIII, pp.101-102.

3. The Glory that was Gurjaradesa, Vol.III, p.164.

with a swift and ignominious defeat⁴. This shows that Kumarasimna succeeded in expanding his territories at the expense of the declining Chahamanas of Naddula and the territories lost during the reign of his brother, were recovered and the dynasty once again became a powerful force in Western India.

MATHANASIMNA

Kumarasimna's son and successor, Mathanasimna continued the policy of his father and substantially restored the prestige and power of his kingdom. The Chirawa⁵ inscription of Samarasimna refers to him as a 'Nripati' and says that he appointed a powerful general Uddharana to the post of Talarakana of Naganradapura (Nagada) with the help of this able

4. I.A., LIII, pp. 101-102.

5. B.I., Vol. XXII, p. 205.

general, Mathanasimha seems to have attempted to fortify Gunilot kingdom beyond the possibility of destruction. The Abu inscription further claims that Mathanasimha 'humbled his foes by his prowess'.⁶

PADMASIMHA

Most of the Gunilot inscriptions mention Padmasimha as the successor of Mathanasimha.⁷ The Abu inscription of Samarasimha records that 'the land of Medapata was protected and also tenderly fostered by king Padmasimha'.⁸ This indicates that Padmasimha continued the policy of the consolidation of the kingdom.

6. B.I., p. 93.

7. B.I., p. 93; E.I., Vol. XXII, p. 225; B.I., p. 115.

8. B.I., p. 93.

The Chirāwā inscription refers to the appointment of general Yogarāja by Padmasimha to the office of Talarasna of Nagada⁹. This clearly suggests that Padmasimha had built up a strong military power on the foundation laid by his father, Matarnasimha.

JAITHRASIMHA (C.1215AD-1255 A.D.)

The Chirāwā inscription of Samarasimha records that Padmasimha's son and successor was Jaitrasimha¹⁰. He was the most powerful king of his time and his reign marked the zenith of Gujilot power. In the Ekalingaji inscription, he is endowed with the royal titles of 'Maharajadhiraja'¹¹ or king of kings.

9. E.I., Vol. XXII, p. 285.

10. I.A., Vol. LVIII, pp. 51-54; E.I., Vol. XXII, p. 285.

11. B.I., p. 25.

He is also referred to as Jesala,¹² Jayasimha¹³,
Jayatasimha¹⁴, Jayatala¹⁵ and Jaitsi¹⁶ in the records.

At the beginning of his career Jaitrasimha attempted the consolidation of the administration of the kingdom. The Mendesani inscription of 1112 A.D. calls him Nagaurane Maharajadhiraja and says that he entrusted Mahamatya Jangerasimha¹⁷ with the office of the state treasury. We are informed by the

12. I.I., Vol. LVIII, pp. 1-34, L.I., XII, p. 65.

13. R.A.S. 1924-25, p. 6.

14. Ibid., 1924-25, p. 2.

15. Hamira Mahamardana of Jayasimhasuri, p. 1.

16. In bardic chronicles.

17. R.A.S., 1925, p. 6., R.A., Vol. 44, p. 470, I.n. 3.

Ognaniryuktisutra of Hemachandra that during the reign of Maharajadhiraja Jaitrasimhadeva, Mahamatya Shri Jagatasimha was incumbent of the office of seals and commerce at Anada (Shrimad Agnatadurga)^{1a}. These references definitely claim that Jaitrasimha had firmly organised the central government by appointing able administrators at Nagada and Anada, the two principal cities of the kingdom.

The remarkable event of the time of Jaitrasimha was his fight against the Muslims of Sindh in 1225 A.D. The Abu inscription of 1225 A.D. gives us an interesting information about Jaitrasimha's relations with the Muslims. The inscription praises him as 'the protector of the earth' and says that he was 'the sage Agastya to the ocean like arms of the Turushkas'

1a. H.N., Vol. I, p. 471, f.n. 1; I.A., Vol. XIX, p. 165, No. 88; Peterson's third report (1924 - 25), Appendix, p. 51.

संवत् १२२५ वर्षे कालानामावास्यां सोमे षष्ठे श्रीमदागरकुर्गे
समस्त राजावलीसमलंकृत महाराजाधिराज श्रीजैत्रसिंहदेवकृत्याण विजय राज्ये
तान्निमुक्त महामात्य श्रीजगतिसिंहे समस्त गुडा व्यापारान् परिपंचयतीत्येवंकाले
उत्कर्त्तमाने सा० डुकरसूनुना --- सा० हेमचंद्रराजदशरथैकालिक वाक्षिक सूत्र -
अथ निर्युक्ति (ओष निर्युक्ति) - सूत्र पुस्तिका लेखिता ।

of 'Sandnaka'¹⁹. The words 'Turushkas' and 'Sandnaka' referred to above undoubtedly stand for the terms Turks and Sindh respectively. Firishta informs us that in the year 630 A.D. (C.1200 A.D.) Chingiz Khan started on an expedition towards India and compelled Jalaluddin, the prince of Khwarizm to flee. Driven by the mighty invader Jalal-uddin retreated towards Lahore, but when his requests for help from the Delhi Sultan, Iltutmish met with refusal, he was compelled to retire to Sindh in humiliation. Irked by his interminable agony, he fired Uch, the capital of Sindh and forced its ruler Nasir-ud-din Kubacha to flee.²⁰ Victorious beyond his dreams now Jalal-ud-din despatched his forces under Anawar Khan to Kanrawala (Ananilavada)²¹. Thus, on their way to Gujarat these formidable forces met Jaitrasinha's

19. D.I., p. 95; I.A., Vol. XVI, pp. 545-50.

20. Briggs; Firishta, Vol. 4, p. 208.

21. Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 415.

deadly encounter²². Disappointed in their schemes and
 'relinquishing the conquest of Sind and Gujarat, the
 Sultan (Jalal-ud-din) in the year 620 A.D. (1223 A.D.),
 went to Iraq by way of Achen and Makran'²³.

The next important event of Jaitrasingha's
 reign was the conflict between the armies of Delhi Sultan
 and the Gamiots. According to the Chirawa inscription
 'neither the kings of Malava, Gurjara (Gujarat),
 Marava (Marwar) and Jangala nor the ruler of the Mlecchas
 (Mohammedans) could humble Jaitrasingha's pride'.²⁴ The
 ruler of the 'Mlecchas' mentioned in this inscription
 seems to be the contemporary Sultan, Iltutmish of Delhi
 who following a lead taken by former Muslim rulers of
 Delhi, perpetrated terrible brutalities in the Sind
 regions of Rajputana sometime in 1223 A.D.²⁵ The invasion

22. I.A., Vol.VI, p.136.

23. Elliot and Dowson; History of Ghazni, Vol.I, p.105;
 Briggs: Firishta, Vol.IV, p.115-116; Duff's Chronology,
 pp.175-80; Haverly; Tabai-ut-tauq-i-Nasiri, p.100 f.n.

24. E.I., Vol.XXII, p.105. नमालवीयेन नजीरिया नमारवेशेन नजोगलेन ।
 मलेच्छावितोयेन कदापि मागे म्लानि न किमिवनिपत्य प्रत्य ॥६॥
 H.R., I, p.460.

25. Haverly: Vol.I, pp.751-53 (Tabai-ut-tauq-i-Nasiri of Minhaj)

of littleness proved disastrous for the Guhilots and the task of ousting the Muslims was not easy. Wisely wishing to avoid war, Jaitrasimha developed a plan to compose this trouble in close association with the Bagnela Rana Viradavala of Dholka²⁶. Although the confederacy of the two forces compelled the Sultan to retreat to his own territories, the victory was won at a terrible cost. The Chitrava inscription of Samarasimha informs us that in one of the charges, the impetuosity of Jaitrasimha's general, Samaraja carried him too far into the ranks of the enemy and he was surrounded and slain.²⁷ The town Nagada was completely²⁸ fired by the armies of Suratrana (Sultan).

26. H.A., Vol. I, p. 460-61; Sam. I. R. Samardana of Jayasimhasuri p. 27,

27. E.I., Vol. XXII, p. 285.

28. Ibid., Vol. XXII, p. 285.

नागद्रहपुर भंगे समं सुरजरासैति कै युद्धम् ।
भूतात्नाहटकुटे पमराजः पंचतां प्राप ॥१५॥

That the Muslims invaded Nagada is also known from Jayasimha Suri's *Hammira Madamardana*. Jayasimha says that the fierce battle that ensued in Nagada engulfed a huge multitude; men, women and even children were mercilessly butchered and 'the people threw themselves in the wells rather than fall into the hands of the infidels' .

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25. *Hammira Madamardana* of Jayasimha Suri, p. 7-35. The drama was probably written between 1219 A.D. and 1229 A.D. *Hammira* or *Hemvira* is a corruption of the Arabic word Amir. From the time of Mohammed Ghori to the reign of Balban this epithet in various forms occurred as the regular designation of the Sultans of Delhi in their coins. See Wright; Catalogue of coins in Indian Museum, Vol. II, pp. 17-35.) The third act of the drama give the following story: King Viradnavala of Gujarat is anxious to get the news about Hammira (i.e., Amir or Sultan of Delhi) who was to begin hostilities against the Mewar king Jayatala (that is Jaitrasimha), who, priding himself on the strength of his own sword, had not joined him (i.e., Viradnavala). Then enters the spy Kamalaka, who, relates how the whole of Mewar was burnt by the soldiers of the enemy and how the people were filled with dismay by the entrance of ruthless Kiecnchna warriors into the capital and how the people through terror preferred to die at their own hands.'

But these reprimands did not diminish the courage of Jaitrasimha. The Gunilots, according to Jayasimhasuri soon compelled 'Milacchikara with his 'Turuskavirast (Muslim warriors) to retire to his kingdom in despair³⁰. The testimony of Jayasimhasuri refers to Jaitrasimha's successful opposition to the aggression of the Sultan of Delhi rather than his victory over the Muslims.

Jaitrasimha's successes were not only against the Muslims. He is also reported to have gained victories over the 'Kings of Malva, Gurjara, (Gujarat), Marava (Marwar) and Jangala.'³¹ The Abu inscription of 1005 A.D. says that Jaitrasimha's 'arms rooted out Naddula.³² The contemporary king of Naddula (Marwar) was most probably the Chahamana ruler Udayaditya (1000 A.D. - 1010 A.D.) the grandson of Kirtipala who forced to retreat to his kingdom by the joint forces of the Chaulukyas and Gunilots during the reign of the Gunilot king Kumārasimha. It is quite possible that Udayaditya reopened war against the Gunilot power to

30. Haddira Madamardana of Jayasimhasuri p.27; A.I., Vol.1., p.40-41. (Qutub-ud-din had conferred title of Amir Shikara or Milacchikar on Iltutmish. (Tabaqat-i-Nāsiri, Raverty, pp.606-607).

31. E.I., Vol. XXII, p.285.

32. B.I., p.32.

avenge the defeat of his grandfather Kirtipala. It seems that Jaitrasimha like Kumarasimha, gained victory over the Chahamanas who were on the decline during the reign of Udayaditya who was reduced to a negligible position by Iltutmish³³. Signally defeated by his more versatile opponent, the Chahamana king, Udayaditya tried to effect a Gujilot - Chahamana alliance to be termed by the marriage of his grand-daughter, Rupadevi³⁴ with the Gujilot prince Tejasimha. The Gagnase inscription further records that Jaitrasimha could not remain contented with this victory, he also marched against the Chahamanas of Shakambhari³⁵ and humbled their pride.

The continued successes of Jaitrasimha at last alarmed the other contemporary powers of Western India, such as the Chaulukyas of Gujarat and the Paramaras. The conflict between the Chaulukya and the Gujilots which started in the last quarter of

33. Elliot: Vol. II, p. 220, Haddivale, p. 18.

34. E.I., Vol. IV, pp. 513-14 (The Sudare Bavadi inscription)

35. R.M.R., 1927, p. 6.

the 11th century A.D. seems to have continued in the
reign of Jaitrasimha. The Gagnasa inscription records
Jaitrasimha's successes over the Gurjara King. The Gunilot
claim of success against the Chaulukyas of Gujarat does not
seem to be an idle one. As has already been mentioned, the
Chaulukyas under Bhimadev II (1178 A.D. - 1242 A.D.)
formed an alliance with the Gunilots against the invasion
of Muhammad Ghori in 1178 A.D. But the Chirawa
inscription says that Hanaka Tribhuvana (1242 A.D.)
successor of Bhimadev II, with the help of his minister,
the gifted strategist, Vishadeva penetrated far into
southern Khatavata and captured the Gunilot fortress,
Kottad³⁷ sometime in 1242 A.D. This brought
the Chaulukyas in conflict with the Gunilots,

36. R.K.R., 1927, p.5.

श्रीमद्गुर्जरमालवतुरुष्कशाकंभरीश्वरैर्यस्य ।

चउ न मानभंगः स स्वः एषो जयतु जैत्रसिंहनृपः ॥ ५ ॥ H.R., Vol. I, p.460.

37. S.I., Vol. XXII, pp. 265-68; I.I., Vol. XI, pp. 206-10;

H.R., Vol. I, p.461.

38. The Glory that was Gurjara, Vol. II, p.335.

which resulted in victory for the latter. In campaign after campaign the Guhilots fastened their flanks, and with each new campaign the Chaulukyas found it more and more difficult to shake the enemies off. Although the Guhilots lost their great general Bala fighting in defence of the fort, the honour of the last campaigns rested chiefly with them.

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The Chirawa inscription of Samarasimha contains an interesting information about Jaitrasimha's relations with the Paramaras of Malava. It gives a graphic account of the battle of the fortress Uttanaka in which a mighty Guhilot general, Madana, grandson of Talaraksha Yogaraja died for the cause of his lord Jesala (Jaitrasimha) against the Panchagundika Jaitramalla (Jayatungadeva) of Malava. It may be noted in this connection

59. E.I., Vol.XXII, pp.265-66.

Panchagundika Jaitramalla of the record has been well identified by the editor with Jayatungadeva of Malava. See also The Paramara Kings of Dhara and Malava by K.K. Lala, p.40.

that the forces of Jayatungadeva, son of the Paramara king Devapala, penetrated into southern Madapata sometime in 147 A.D. without encountering opposition till they came within sight of the towers of the Gunilot fortress Uthmanaka (Arthuna).⁴⁰ The ensuing battle was a crushing defeat for Jayatungadeva, who fled for life all the way across Gujarat to find an asylum in the south. But he received severe reverses at the hands of the joint forces of the Yadava ruler, Singhana of Devagiri and Visaladeva of Gujarat.

honoured as 'the exterminator of the power and prestige of the rulers of north and south',⁴¹ Jaltrasingha resolved to make a gesture in the direction of peace, but the renewal of the Muslim raids disturbed the Gunilot kingdom again. Firishta says that Jalal-ud-din, brother of the Delhi Sultan Nasir-ud-din (1246 A.D. 1266 A.D.), when

40. E.I., Vol. XXII, pp. 265-66; I.A., Vol. LVIII, pp. 51-54. Modern Arthuna in Vagada.

41. I.A., Vol. I., p. 72; Peterson's third Report, p. 130.

summoned from his government of Kanauj, became 'apprehensive of a design against his life and fled to the hills of Chitoda with all his adherents. The Sultan pursued him, but finding, after eight months that he could not secure him, returned to Delhi'. It seems that the Sultan's attack on the land of the Gunjots was only an incident in his march against his brother Jalal-ud-din in 1240 A.D.

Although the Muslim raids over Chitoda in 1240 A.D. was averted, another adversary to the great fort was not long to come. Minnāj in his *Tabaqāt-i-Nasirī* records that sometime in 651 A.H. (1253 A.D.) Ulugh Khan-i-A'zam (Balban), the governor of Nagaur 'led the troops of Islam towards the territory of Rantambur, Bhundi, and Chitrur'. There can be little doubt that the conflict between the Muslims and the Gunjots was only one of the incidents of

42. Briggs: *Firishta*, Vol.I., p.238.

43. Havelly: *Tabaqāt-i-Nasirī*, Vol.I., p.238.

Ulugh Khan's attempt to carry out his expeditions of conquest against the kings of Kanatambhor, Buncal and Chitoda. It appears that the Muslim raid proved disastrous to the arms of the Guhilots. ⁴⁴ Minhaj further informs us that 'vast booty was captured, and horses and captives beyond computation were taken. Safe and rich, under the protection of the creator, Ulugh Anan-i-A'zam returned again to the province of Nag-awr'. But these troubles were not to last long and as soon as the invader's eyes were turned back, Jaitrasimha revived his strength within a short period.

It is clear from the above discussions on Jaitrasimha's reign that he was a very powerful king and was the greatest ruler of his family. He had firmly

44. Raverty: *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, vol. I, p. 602.

consolidated his position in Western India. The claim of the Chirawa inscription that he 'was the wind of⁴⁵ destruction to other kings' is not an idle boast. He had a long reign of about forty years from 1215 A.D. to 1256 A.D.

TEJASIMHA

Jaitrasimha was succeeded by his son Tejasimha who inaugurated a reign which proved to be one of the most memorable in Gurjrat annals. In the Sravaka-prakramana-Sutra Curni of Kamala Chandra dated

45. E.I., Vol. XXII., pp. 85-86.

in the Vikrama Samvata 1317 (1260 A.D.), Tejasimha bears all the royal epithets, i.e., Manarajadhiraja Paramesvara Paramabhattacharya .

The most important event of Tejasimha's reign was the conflict between the Bagelias and the Gunilots. We have already noticed that the armies of the Chaulukya ruler, Tribhuvanapala (1342 A.D.) headed by his minister Visaladeva Baghela (1342 A.D. - 1365 A.D.) were repulsed by Jaitrasimha in 1345 A.D. This repulse

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40. Peterson's fifth report, p. 10; A.A.I.R. 473 f.n. 4. E.S. of Bravara-pradipana-uttra Churni of Candia Chandra was composed when the H.P.Pb. Umepativara-labadha-pradipapratapa-dharmadatt Sri Tejasimha-deva was reigning at Agnātadurga.

संवत् १३१७ वर्षे मङ्गल (व) सुदि ४ आदित्यदिने श्रीमदाचार्युर्गे
महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर परमभट्टारक उमापतिवरलब्ध प्रौढ उत्तमसमलक्षित
श्रीतेजसिंहदेव . . .

must have rankled in the mind of Visaladeva⁴⁷ who effected his coup d'etat in 1144 A.D. after the death of the Chaulukya ruler Tribhuvanapala and proclaimed himself the sovereign of Gujarat. It seems that he renewed his expedition of conquest against Tejasimha to avenge his defeat at the hands of Jaitresimha. The Kadigrant of Visaladeva describes him as 'hatched to cut the Kadapatadesa Kalusa Rajya'⁴⁸. This claim is further supported by the Chirawa inscription of Samarasimha, which depicts the battle of the two towering contestants in which the mighty Guhilot general Ratna, son of Ashema, the Talaraksha⁴⁹ of Chitouda, lost his life fighting against the Baghelas.

47. The Glory that was Gurjaradesa, Vol. II, p. 335.

48. I.A., Vol. VI, p. 210.

49. E.I., Vol. XXII, pp. 85-86; W.Z.A.S., Vol. XXI, pp. 141-162.
(edited by Bernard Geiger).

The Baghela king, Visaladeva had thought that Medapata would fall an easy victim to him, but valiant as he was, Tejasimha lost no time in driving the invaders out of Medapata in 1261 A.D. Engaged in a triangular war with the Paramaras of Malava⁵⁰ and the Hoyasalas,⁵¹ Visaladeva wasted his resources in a frenzied scramble. The Baghela chief, Visaladeva soon lost his strategic position owing to the constant attacks of Singhana's son Krisna (1247 A.D. - 1260 A.D.) of Devagiri⁵², reduced to his humble position Visaladeva abdicated and installed his nephew Arjunadeva (1264 A.D. - 1273 A.D.) on the throne of Gujarat.⁵³

An inscription of Buntare Bavadi gives an interesting information about Tejasimha's relation

50. I.A., Vol.VI., p.210.

51. The Glory that was Gurjaradesa, Vol.II, p.398.

52. E.I., Vol.I., p.272.

53. E.I., Vol.I., p.272.

with the Chānamānas of Naddūla. It seems that loss of effective independence was the lot of the Chānamānas of Jālor (Naddūla); but in the course of its adjustment to the altered circumstances in Western India they experienced so many vicissitudes that for the sake of their protection they reverted to the matrimonial alliance with the Guhilots. As we have already noticed that Tejasīma was joined in wedlock to Rupadevī, daughter of the Chānamāna ruler Chacnig deva (1262 A.D. - 1268 A.D.) grandson of Udayaditya, and thence forward⁵⁴ the two houses continued their friendship.

Tejasīma is also praised for his efficiency as an able administrator. Shortly after mounting the throne, he developed an ambitious scheme. A few measures were adopted which gave Nedapata a well organised

54. E.I., Vol. IV., pp. 515-14, (The Budtare Bavadi Inscription).

government. Mahamatya Samudra⁵⁵ was entrusted with
the administration of the seals at Agnata (Ahada)⁵⁶
and Rajasimha⁵⁶ and Rajaputra Kanga⁵⁷ were the most
honoured ministers (Pradhanas) of his court. He
was not only a capable ruler, but, as will be shown
in a later chapter, a great patron of religion and
architecture.

SAMARASIMHA (C. 1273 A.D. - C. 1301 A.D.)

Tojasimha's son and successor was Samarasimha,
his son by Jayatalladevi⁵⁸. The earliest inscription of

55. Peterson's Fifth Report, p.26.

56. E.I., Vol. XXII., p.265-66.

57. Beng. As. Soc. Journal, Vol. LV., Pt. I, pp.45-47.

58. E.I., Vol. XXII., pp.265-68.

Samarasimha's reign is the Kasiaji's Chhatra inscription of 1274 A.D. which indicates that the accession of Samarasimha occurred amid circumstances which augured a happy reign⁵⁹ and claims that Medapata 'set at naught all the pride of the free city of the gods'. The defeat of the Bagnela King Visaladeva at the hands of Tejasimha had placed the supremacy of Medapata beyond question.

The chief event of Samarasimha's reign was the renewal of the Muslim raids over Chitoda. The Abu inscription of 1265 A.D. states that Samarasimha 'rescued in an instant, the sub-merged land, of Gurjara from the ocean-like Turusakas'.⁶⁰ It is evident from this inscription that Samarasimha had rescued the contemporary Bagnela king, Sarangadeva (1274 A.D. - 1286 A.D.), son of Arjunadeva (1264 A.D. - 1276 A.D.) of Gujarat from some Muslim invasion. It appears very likely that sometime during the

59. B.I., p.70.

60. B.I., p.34; Asiatic Researches, Vol.XVI, pp.284 ff; See Wilson's Trans. Ibid., pp.35-36; Shyamaladasa edited the record in 1866 A.D. in J.A.S.B., LV., pt.I., pp.32 ff., 46 ff. and 57 ff; I.A., Vol.XVI., pp.345-46 (Edited by Kielhorn).

close of his reign, Balban (1246 A.D. - 1286 A.D.), the Sultan of Delhi, carried his campaigns as far as Gujarat. Driven to desperation by the gradual diminution of his ancestral kingdom, the Bagnela king, Sarangadeva, determined to retaliate and check the Muslim advance in conjunction with the Guhilot forces. Although the family relations of the two houses - Gujarat and Medaputa, were estranged, Samarasimha, liberal as he was, bade all⁶¹ loyal Hindu princes rally to their ally. The Kshatriya kings at once gathered a formidable force and prepared to take the field. In the early campaigns the armies of the Sultan suffered many reverses. The Sultan was completely broken when the news of revolts in Bengal and raids by Mughals in the Punjab reached his ears.

The distressing situation was for a time put up with by the strategy and energy of the Guhilot

61. B.I., p.86.

forces, but when the Sultan Ala-ud-din Khalji (1196 A.D. - 1210 A.D.) of Delhi despatched Ulugh Khan for the destruction of Somnāth⁶² (Gujarāt) on 10th Jumada-1-⁶³awwal 698 H (1299 A.D.) the realm of Modapata was once again alarmed. The Kannadade Prabandha⁶⁴, states that Ala-ud-Din attempted to bribe the Channarayana king, Kannadade of Jalor to let the Muslim army pass through his

62. Elliot, Vol.III., p.74. Khazainu-l-Futuh; Hodiwala, p.248.

63. Mirat-i-Anamadi (Bele Gujarat, p.57) gives 1.696 or 1296; Tajiyatal-Amsar records 1.698 or 1299 A.D. (Elliot, Vol.III pp.74-75); Tarikat-i-Akbari and Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi contain

1.698 or 1299 A.D. (Elliot Vol.III, pp.74 and 105)

and Tarikh-i-Firishahi shows 1.697 or 1298 A.D.

(Briggs: Firishahi, Vol.1, p.557) for the Muslim attack over Gujarat.

64. The Glory that was Gurjaradesa, Vol.II., p.101.

land, but with moral firmness and religious enthusiasm the latter refused the proposal. Now the Muslim army leaders - Nusrat Khan and Ulugh Khan carried their forces through the Guhilot territories. Jinaprabhasuri in his Tirthakalpa says that Samarasimha saved ⁶⁵Medapata from devastation by doing homage to 'the invader'. This shows that although Samarasimha offered some resistance to the progress of the Sultan's army, he thought it unwise to wage war in which Medapata was destined to suffer a great loss. It is not unlikely that he allowed the Muslims to pass through his kingdom without devastating an inch of the land in order to save the Guhilot kingdom intact.

Samarasimha was not only the saviour of his

65. Tirth Kalpa of Jinaprabhasuri p.95 (Satyapurakalpa);

H.N., Vol.1., p.477 f.n.2.

kingdom, but, as is evident from his Chitoda inscription of 1278 A.D., a great patron of religion and architecture. He gave munificent endowments for the construction of a monastery for Pradyummasuri, a Jain saint. The Matha on Mount Abu was endowed 'with a golden staff' by Samarasimha who also got the temple repaired and at the request of a Pasupata ascetic Bhavasnankara 'made good provision for feeding the Munis'.

66. B.I., p.115. We have an echo of Muslim attack in the Kanapur inscription of 1432 A.D. which tells us that Bhavanasimha was 'the conqueror of Sri Allawaddina Sultan'. Bhuvanasimha belonged to a junior branch of the ruling family of Samarasimha. It was not possible for him to fight independently with Alauddin's army and win a victory. It seems that he fought in the train of his overlord and relative, Samarasimha.

67. R.A.R., 1943, p.3; J.A.S.B., Vol.LV.,pt.I.,pp.18 and 40.

68. I.A., Vol.XVI., pp.345-46; B.I.,p.35.

RATNASIMHA (C.1302 A.D. - 1303 A.D.)

The Kumbhalagara inscription of 1460 A.D. records that Samarasimha's son and successor was Ratnasimha⁶⁹. His accession must have occurred sometime in 1302 A.D., the date of his Dariba inscription⁷⁰.

The time during which Ratnasimha ruled the Guhilot kingdom is one of the most important periods of Guhilot history. It was in this period that the Guhilot ruler lost the fort of Chitoda and his life to the Muslim invader Alau-d-din (1296 A.D. - 1316 A.D.)⁷¹ in the siege of Chitoda in 1306 A.D. Ratnasimha was confronted on his

69. H.N., Vol.I., p.484, f.n.2.

70. R.M.R., 1927, p.3.

71. Elliot, Vol.III., (Khazainu-l-Futuh of Amir Khusrav,
p. 76; Hodiwala, p.250.

accession by the disconcerting event of the renewal of the raids of Alau-d-din who now directed all his thoughts to the conquest of Chitoda. Amir Khusrav in his *Khazainu-l-Futun* records that on Monday 'the 8th Jumada-s-Sani 702 H (1500 A.D.) the army started from Delhi with a view to capture of Chitor'.⁷² Mohammad Kasim Firishta informs us that beautiful Padmini offered a powerful attraction to Alau-d-din's lustful eyes and he marched against Ratanasimha⁷³ in 1503 A.D. The Lumbalegara inscription of 1460 A.D. also refers to a serious conflict between the Muslims and the Gurjats and tells us that Ratanasimha met the Muslim attack with a counter offensive but in order to defend the fort Chitoda (Chitra Kutachala) he at last surrendered when he found the position to be untenable. The *Ikalinga*⁷⁴ Manatya informs us that a few Gurjat kings of Sesoda

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72. Elliot, Vol.III, p.76.

73. H.R., Vol.I., p.464, f.n.2.

74. H.R., Vol.I., p.495.

viz., Bhuvanashimma, Bhimasimma, Jayasimma and Lakshmanashimma, who had come to help Ratanashimma, lost their lives in defending the fort. The rain of destruction falling without let-up through the spring and summer months culminated in August 1303 A.D. Amir Khusrav informs us that the siege of the great fort continued for six months from the 6th Jumada-s-Sani 703 H (Monday 26th January 1303 A.D.) to the 11th of Muharram, 703 H (Sunday 25th August 1303 A.D.) and the fort was taken by the Muslims in 1303 A.D.⁷⁵ . What now at once became the most urgent issue confronting the Kshatriyas was the performance of Jaunar. Queen of Ratanashimma, along with other women of the fort plunged into the sacred flames.

Just at this juncture after the fall of Chitoda in 1303 A.D., the fortune of the great fort, took such a sudden and catastrophic turn that the rein of its government passed into the hands of the Sultans

75. Elliot: Vol.III., pp.76-77; Hodivala, p.250.

of Delai. The fascinating story of this ancient fort, full of political vicissitudes and grandeur temporarily eclipsed. Now the sacred for of Chitoda which was made a place of historical pilgrimage by the performance of Jaunar by the heroic Gunilot women, fell victim in the hands of infidels. Alau-d-din installed his son Khizr Khan to the post of its governor and in 1311 A.D., Maladeva, the Sonigara Chahamanas ruler, was entrusted with the administration of the fort by the Sultan. Thus the prosperity of the Gunilot strong-hold received a rude shock from the victorious arms of Alau-d-din and it fell from its high position.

JAMNIRA (C. 1303 A.D. - 1364 A.D.)

Ratnasimha was succeeded by Jamnira, son of Arisimha of Sisoda and the Chahamanas queen Devi Sonigiri of Unva^{- 76}. The Ekalingaji inscription of 1483 A.D. says

76. B.I., p.96. (Ekalingaji inscription of 1483 A.D.); Ibid., Ranapura inscription p.115; Ibid., Ekalingaji inscription p.117; Ibid., Narlai inscription, p.140.

that 'Arisinga, fighting great battles for protecting
mount Chitrakuta abandoned life in a moment' and 'was
succeeded by the sunlike Hammira who was like a great
fire in, his forest-like enemies'.⁷⁷ This indicates
that Hammira's father lost his life during the siege
of Chitoda in 1303 A.D. along with Ratnasimha who
had no son. Hence Hammira ascended the throne of the
main line of the Guhilots.

Unfortunately, we have no inscription
of Hammira's reign and for an account of his time
we must rely on the bardic records, and inscriptions
of later Guhilot kings and their contemporaries. We have
already seen that the Guhilots had suffered humiliation
from the Muslims and Alau-d-din the mighty Sultan of
Delhi had carried away in battle the fair and unshakable
fame of the historic fort of Guhilot kingdom⁷⁸ in 1303 A.D.

77. B.I., p.125.

78. Elliot, Vol.III., pp.76-77.

During the reign of Hattasimma, the Guhilots suffered a definite loss of power and Hammira however, continued to apprehend trouble as Chitoda was now almost the bone of contention between his house and the Chahamanas. The consequences of the renewed military activities were, of course, disastrous to the arms of Hammira. The Khalingaji inscription of 1483 A.D. informs us that he had ultimately to seek safer shelter in the strong-holds of Kelavada 'surrounded by terrible dense forests'.⁷⁹ In the inaccessible valleys of the Aravallis, Hammira gathered considerable force at Kelavada and took strong measures to recover Chitoda from Kaladeva,⁸⁰ the Chahamana governor of the fort. From the bardic tradition we know that Hammira succeeded in recovering the fort from

79. B.I., p.125.

80. Bomb. AsS.J., Vol.23, p.50, Vs.9.
Māhadeva was the younger brother of Kannadadeva, the last ruler of Jalor. After the fall of Jalor in 1311 A.D. Kaladeva won the favour of Alau-d-din and was entrusted with the charge of Chitoda in 1313 A.D.

^{- 61}
Maladeva's son, Jesa. Although Maladeva attempted to
imprison Hammira in a fraudulent way by offering his
daughter to Hammira, he failed in his designs signally
and Hammira is said to have married Maladeva's
⁶²
daughter forcibly.

The precise date of Hammira's success
over Jesa is not known. The earliest possible date may
be guessed from the consideration of the circumstance
that Maladeva occupied strong position in Chitoda until
his death in 1300 A.D. It was only after the death of
Alau-d-din in 1316 A.D. that Hammira became irresistible,
and overran the territories of Maladeva and married his
daughter in 1320 A.D.

The recovery of Chitoda could not possibly
⁶³
have come before 1320 A.D. In the Mahabirawami inscription

61. H.H., Vol.II., p.545; Khyata; Nansi, Patra 23, p.1.

62. Khyata, Nansi, Patra 23, p.1.

63. Bomb. A.S.J., Vol.23., p.50., Vs.9.

of 1458 A.D. Hammira is reported to have killed 'the hosts of Turusknas'. The Knyata of Nansi informs us that Jesa the eldest son of Maladeva brought the armies of the Sultan against Hammira⁸⁴. Col.Tod, on the basis of the bardic chronicles says that 'Mahmud Khalji in whose reign the fort was taken by Hammira was marching to recover it when he was met, defeated and captured by Rana, who imprisoned him for three months at Chitor, and would not liberate him until he had surrendered Ajmer, Mantambhor, Nagaur and Suisopar with five millions of rupees and five hundred elephants⁸⁵'. Finding that there was no ruler in the Khalji dynasty bearing the name of Mahmud Khalji after Alau-d-din, we think that it must have been a mistake

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84. H.C., Vol.II., p.547, Ram Nath Ratnu has written in the 'History of Rajasthan' page 36 that Harisimha, son of Maladeva brought Sultan from Delhi and was killed by Hammira. Nansi has given the genealogy of Maladeva in which Harisimha does not appear. (Knyata Patra 23, p.1.) Col.Tod has accepted Harisimha as brother of Banabira, son of Maladeva (Rajasthan, pt.1., p.316) The Viravinode mentions him as the grandson of Maladeva (Pt.I., p.297).
85. Tod. Rajasthan (Crooke's Edn.) Vol.I., pp.316-319; C.H.I., Vol.III, p.5. 6. (Cambridge History of India, Woodsley Haig, 1928)

for Muhammad Tughlaq (1325 A.D. - 1351 A.D.). Unluckily the contemporary Muslim evidence makes no mention of this incident, but it is not unlikely that the Muslims tried to reconquer Chitoda from Hammira sometime in 1325 A.D. but their attempts proved abortive.

Hammira compelled Jesa to come to terms and make peace and captured Chitoda completely reviving the independence of the Guhilot fort. The Chahamanas had suffered humiliation from the Guhilots and had practically become their subordinates. Ranabira, the third son of Maladeva accepted the overlordship of Hammira.

In the Sringi Rishi inscription of 1428 A.D.⁸⁷ Hammira is said to have wrested Chelakhyapura (Chelavata) from the native autochthonous tribes (Bhils) who succumbed to his youthful energy as 'motes do unto fire'. This claim

86. H.R., Vol. II., p. 548.

87. H.R., Vol. II., p. 549.

of Hammira's success is also supported by the Ekalinga
Mahatmya⁸⁸, which makes more specific mention of the
battle and records that Hammira 'brought king Raghava of
(Chelavata) to the rank of a small chief'. This
indicates that Hammira defeated Raghava, a king of
Chelavata (Jilwada)⁸⁹ which was a fortified hilly place
near Godavada.

Hammira is also reported to have conquered⁹⁰
Panlanapura. The Suringi -isai inscription of 1426 A.D.
gives a vivid description of the burning of Panlanapura⁹¹
by Hammira. The Ekalinga Mahatmya⁹¹ also refers to this

88. B.I., p. 125.

89. H.R., Vol. II., p. 548.

90. H.R., Vol. II., p. 549.

91. H.R., Vol. II., p. 549-50.

incident and informs us that Hammira easily captured Pramladanapura (Pamlanapura). It is significant to note that Pamlanapura was established by Pramladanadeva, younger brother of the Paramara king, Dharavarsha (1100 A.D. - 1115 A.D.) of Abu⁹². Hence it is clear that Hammira gained victory over some Paramara king whose name is not given in the inscriptions.

The Baringi Kishan inscription of 1400 A.D. refers to another victory of Hammira over Jaitresvara, the author king of Latur (Ilādurga)⁹³. This claim of Hammira's victory finds support in the Ekalingaji inscription of 1489 A.D. which says 'the best of the

92. A.N., Vol. II., p. 540; A.S., Vol. III, pp. 200-04 and 208-19;

Ibid., Vol. VIII, pp. 211-16, Vs. 38, A.S., p. 180.

93. A.N., Vol. II., p. 549.

Gunis Agastya like king Hammira, dried the ocean-like
Jaitrakarna of Ilachala'.⁹⁴ The Ekalinga Mahatmya⁹⁵
also refers to this incident in which Jaitrakarna
of Iladurga (Idur) is reported to have been defeated
by Hammira.

The Khyata of Nansi⁹⁶ records that
Hammira's general Banavira, the third son of Maladeva,
conquered Bhainsroda and annexed it to the Gunilot
kingdom. The distribution of the Solankiyan inscription⁹⁷
of Banavira dated 1337 A.D. and the Marlai (Godavada)
inscription⁹⁸ of Banavira's sonnanavira dated 1386 A.D.
in Godavada (Bhainsroda) suggests that the force of
Hammira's arms was felt as far as modern Marwar (Marlai).

94. B.I., p.119.

95. H.A., Vol.II, p.550.

96. Khyata Patra 23, p.1.

97. E.I., Vol.XI, p.63; H.A.Vol.II, p.550.

98. E.I., Vol.XI, p.63-64, H.A., Vol.II, p.550.

The Khyāta of Nānsi informs us that Hammira also won some minor victories over the Minas of Bhainsroda in defence of Devisimha Hada, whose daughter was wedded to Arasi, son of Rana Lakshmanasimha of Sisoda. These references show that perhaps the loyalty of the early years of the Guhilot ascendancy did not last and was gradually impaired by the foreign domination, it was seriously undermined when Hammira ascended the throne in the state of adverse situations. Taking advantage of the perilous circumstances, a large number of native princes had raised standards of revolt in order to hoist their banners of freedom. But Hammira was not at all disappointed and began his systematic aggression shortly after his triumphant victory against the Muslims. Within a very short time he succeeded in suppressing all the revolts and his reign saw the restoration of the Guhilot power. The territories lost during the reign of Ratnasimha were recovered, and the dynasty once again became a powerful force in western India.

Hammira was not only a worthy ruler; he was also a liberal patron of religion. He constructed a temple 'surrounded with golden pinneacles' and 'caused¹⁰⁰ to be dug a lake as large as a sea surrounded by gardens of mango trees'. He made a gift of Sinnavallipura¹⁰¹ for the worship of Shankara.

100. B.I., p. 103.

101. B.I., p. 105. (The Kallinagaji inscription of 1489 A.D.)

CHAPTER VII

SOME MINOR BRANCHES OF THE GUHILOTS

1. THE GUHILOTS OF CHATSU

The existence of this branch of the Guhilots was brought to light by the discovery of a long inscription of Baladitya of Chatsu situated about 24 miles south of Jaipur. This family began well under Bhartripata who is described therein 'like Rama endowed with both priestly and martial qualities (Brahma Kshatranvita)'. M.M. Gauri-Shanker Hira Chand Ojha identifies Bhartripata of this line with Bhartribhata¹ of the main Guhilot house of Nagada², but this identification was called in question by Dr. H.C. RAY³ on the ground that Bhartripata of the Chatsu branch flourished long before the time of Bhartribhata⁴ (342 A.D.)⁵. Unhappily, however, the latter is himself

1. E.I., Vol.XII., pp.10-12.

2. Ibid., Vol.XII, pp.10-12.

3. H.R., Vol.II, pp.420 ff.

4. D.H.N.I., Vol.II, p.1198.

5. E.I., Vol.X, p.187, R.M.R., 1913, p.2.

tempted to identify him with Bhartribhatal of the main line and assigns him a probable date of 625 A.D. with due respect to the learned historian, I venture to say that his identification and date do not rest on solid grounds and are open to serious objections. First, mere similarity in names is no proof the identity of persons. Secondly, Dr. Ray's date is untenable for Bhartribhatal came long after the date of his grandfathers Krummanal (i.e., 753 A.D.). Thirdly, Bhartripata of the Chatsu branch is nowhere mentioned in the Chatsu inscription as the founder of the house. Fourthly, a passing reference to Guhila in the Chatsu inscription bears ample testimony to say that the Chatsu branch of the Guhilots was an extraction of the main Guhilot line of Nagada. Lastly, a mention of the 'Guhilaraja Vansa' in the Chatsu inscription goes to establish that Chatsu principality was created by Guhila or Guhadatta of Nagada.

It is not unlikely that during the course of his northerly campaigns, Guhila went as far as Chatsu

(Jaipur) and conquered the territory and installed one of his kinsmen to rule there as his feudatory, subject to the authority of Nagada.

Bhartripata is the first known ruler of the Chatsu branch of the Guhilots. Unluckily the details of the reigns of four early kings viz., Bhartripata, Ishanabhata Upendrabhata and Guhilal are not known. Guhilal was succeeded by Dhanika⁷. Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar has identified Dhanika of the Chatsu branch with a Guhilot ruler of the same name of the Daboka house of the Guhilots who, he says, flourished in 725 A.D.⁸ He further equates Dhavala of this record with a Mori king Dhavala of the Kansuvama inscription of 739 A.D.³ But in view of some fresh light thrown by the Hasti Kundi inscription of the Rashtrakuta Dhavala who gave shelter to the armies of

7. E.I., Vol.X, p.187.

8. E.I., Vol.XII, 1913-14, p.10.

Sam 407 Bhadrabada Sud 8 asmi (n) di(va)se'
Paramabhattachaka - Manarajadhiraja - Paramesvara -
Sri d Dhavalappadeva - pravada (r dha) mana .
rajya - Gunila - puttranam Sri d Dhanikasya
Opabhuja manayam Dhavagarthayam etc.'

9. E.I., Vol.XII, 1913-14, p.10.

the Guhilot king, Shaktikumara in 996 A.D.¹⁰ when Munjaraja destroyed Aghata,¹¹ the interpretation of the learned historian seems untenable. Munja, the Paramara ruler of Malava, is credited in the Udepura prasasti¹¹ with many notable victories over the Karmatas, Latas, Aeralas, Colas and Cedis' and his ambitious schemes of conquest must have brought him to the Guhilot territories. The Hasti Kundi Rashtrakuta king Mammata's son, Dhavala, whose sister Manalaksami, was mother of Shaktikumara, at once took up the cause of his nephew and rescued him from the Paramara danger in 998 A.D. Now the description of the Daboka inscription in terms suggestive of Dhavala's suzerian power, makes it almost certain that he can be no other than the Rashtrakuta monarch Dhavala who flourished in 998 A.D. If we equate Samvat 407 of the Daboka inscription with Varsha Samvat, it corresponds to

10. E.I., Vol.X., 1909-10, p.17.

11. E.I., Vol.I, pp.235, 237, Vol.12.

1016 A.D. and synchronises with the time of Rashtrakuta Dhavala of Hasti Kundi. It was customary with the Rashtrakuta kings to assume high sounding titles, (e.g., Mahārājādīrāja Paramesvara Paramabhattāraka or Kakkaladeva of 991 A.D.)¹², and the Hastikundi king, Dhavala would not have been an exception. Thus, we are driven to hold that the Daboka inscription bestows high praise on the Rashtrakuta king Dhavala of Hasti Kundi and not on the Mori king Dhavala of Chitoda, on account of the former's being the saviour of Dhanika's overlord, Shaktikumara.

DHANIKA'S SUCCESSORS

Dhanika was followed by his son Auka and the latter by his son Krishnaraja. The details of their reigns are not known to us. Krishnaraja's son and successor was Sankaragana who conquered the king

12. Altekar, Rashtrakutas, p.131.

of Gauda, a great warrior (bnata/ana made the whole world¹³ gained by warfare subservient to his overlord' Sankaragana was succeeded by Harsaraja, his son by queen Yajja. The Chatsu inscription of Baladitya affirms that 'Harsaraja Guhila conquered kings in the north, and presented horses to Bhoja'¹⁴. In the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to identify the king of Gauda, Bhoja and the defeated kings of the north mentioned in the Chatsu¹⁵ inscription. Dr.D.N. Bhandarkar has equated Bhoja with Bhoja Pratihara (843 A.D. - 882 A.D.) without sufficient justification. The king Bhoja mentioned in the Chatsu inscription is in all probability identical with his great Paramara namesake. Now it is important to note that a king named Bhoja is mentioned in the Chirawa inscription of 1273 A.D.¹⁶ This record says that 'through the favour

13. E.I., Vol.XII, p.10., Vs. 14-15.

14. E.I., Vol.XII, p.15, Verse 15, c.f. 'Jitva yan sakalanudicyanripatin Bhojaya bhaktya Ca adau saktan Saikata-Sindhu-languana-Vidhau Srivanisajan Vajinan'.

15. E.I., Vol.XII, p.15 Verse 15.

16. E.I., Vol.XXII, pp.265-68 (Vs.50-51).

of Samarasimha, he (Madana) succeeded his father in the post of Talarakana of Chitor where he worshipped Siva in the temple of Tribhuvanānārayana, built by the king Bhoja¹. This would not have much point if Bhoja Paramara (1010 A.D. - 1055 A.D.) of Malava had not made some incursions in the north and for a time established his hegemony over Chitoda. Support for this view may further be found in the Hasti Kundi inscription of 936 A.D. which says that Munjaraja 'destroyed Agnata, the pride of Medapata'¹⁷. As well pointed out by Mr. R.E. Haldar¹⁸ this Munjaraja is identical with his great Paramara namesake, whose nephew was Bhoja who carried his victorious arms in distant regions. In the Udepur prasasti he even claims to have 'possessed the earth upto the Kailasa mountains'¹⁹. This claim has been further strengthened by Merutunga's Prabandha Chintamani, which states 'when Bhoja went out for conquests,

17. E.I., Vol.X, p.17,

18. I.A., Vol.LIX, 1930, pp.163, 235.

19. E.I., Vol.I., 237-38.

the king of Kanyakubja was bent double' ²⁰. Consequently we conclude that Bhoja Paramara of Malava erected a temple at Chitoda and his military achievements were of such a high order as to have won for him the proud epithet of 'Tribhuvanānārāyaṇa'. As a minor chief like Harsaraja could not have overrun the north on his own account, it is reasonable to hold that he undertook these northerly campaigns only to render assistance to Bhoja Paramara in his ambitious schemes of conquest.

GUHILA II

Harsaraja was succeeded by his son Guhilā II whose mother was queen Sillā. The Chātsū inscription says that 'he produced the impression that he was Guhilā, come to life again to destroy his foes. With excellent horses from the sea-coast, he vanquished the

20. P.C., Vol. II, (Edn. Jinavijaya Muni) p. 51. (Aravindha Chintāmani)

Gauda king and levied tribute from princes in the east'.²¹
As he was married with Rajjā, daughter of the Paramāra
king Vallabharāja, Gunilā²² formed a confederacy with
the Paramāra king to punish the rulers of Kanauj and
Gauda.

BHATTA

Gunila's son was Bhatta who is credited in
the Chātsū inscription²³ with having 'led an expedition
of conquest against kings of the south'. As it is
unlikely that a minor prince like Bhatta would by himself
lead an expedition from Chātsū to distant parts of the

21. E.I., Vol.XII., p.10, V.21.

22. E.I., Vol.XII., p.10, Vs.25-26.

23. E.I., Vol.XII., p.10, V s. 25-26.

south, we may suppose that he accompanied the Paramara²⁴ king Bhoja in his southern campaigns and helped him in his victories. This help was probably given to Bhoja Paramara in response of his heroic victory over the Chahamanana ruler Vakapatirajall who had killed the Gu Elliot king, Ambaprasada in 1010 A.D.

BALADITYA

Bhatta was succeeded by Baladitya (also known as Balarka or Balabhanu), his son by queen Purasa²⁵ daughter of one Viruka. Baladitya married princess Rattava, daughter of the Chahamanana king Sivaraja. His wife²⁶ died early and in her commemoration he built a temple

24. E.I., Vol.I., pp.265, 267 V.12.

25. E.I., Vol.XII., p.10 V.27.

26. E.I., Vol.XII., p.10.

of Murari. From that marriage he had three sons, namely,
Vallabharaja, Vigranaraja and Devaraja.²⁷

(11) THE GUNILOTS OF SAURASHTRA

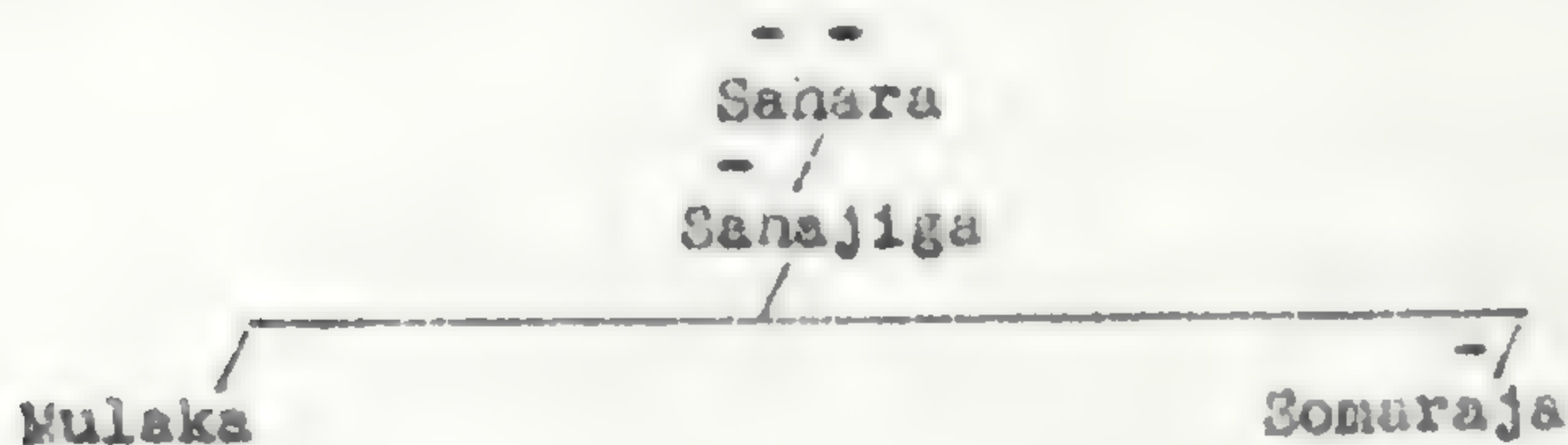
The exact circumstances which led Salivahanana,²⁸
father of the Gunilot king Shaktikumara (977 A.D. - 996 A.D.)
of the main line, to migrate to Saurashtra are more or less
surrounded in mystery, but the elevation of one of his
descendants Sejaraja²⁹ to the throne of Mangrol under the
patronage of Mahipala of Junagadh was followed by troublous
times. The Rathors, who had now begun to intervene in the
affairs of the north, as is evident from the raids of Siyaji,
could not tolerate the Gunilot king's assumption of supreme

7. E.I., Vol. XII., p. 20.

28. H.R., Vol. II, p. 430 ff.

29. D.A.N.I., Vol. II., p. 1200 f.n. 1.

status in northern Rajaputana and a trial of strength between the two powers became inevitable. Siāji, grandson of the father Jayachandra a Kanauj inflicted a crushing defeat over the Guhilot rulers, Mohadasa, of Kneragara on the banks of the Luni (Jodhpur). The result of this conflict was that Mohadasa's grandson Sejakaji (Sāhajiga) had to seek shelter with the Sorath king Mahipala at Junagarh. The Mangrol stone inscription of the Guhila Taakkura Mulaka bestows high praise on the Chaulukya Kumarapala (1144 A.D. - 1170 A.D.) and gives the following genealogy of the Saurashtra branch of the Guhilots.



Sāhara is described in the Mangrol inscription as 'the possessor of extensive greatness and an ornament

of the earth. ³¹ - Sanajiga is represented therein as the commander of the Chaulukya forces and is credited with having carved out a new principality after his name known as Sajakapura. He founded his own 'Sri Simha' era. ³² and ruled upto 1145 A.D. His second son Somaraja installed an idol of the god Mahesvara called Sanajigesvara to immortalise his father's deeds.

Sanajiga was succeeded by his elder son Mulaka who was a contemporary of Kumarapala (Mangrol inscription) ³³. Mulaka made a grant 'to be observed by his descendants, for the performance of religious rites of god Sanajigesvara'. ³⁴

Mulaka was succeeded by Ranaka (Ghelana inscription 1170 A.D.) who donated a seat for the worship

31. B.I., p.159.

32. B.G., Chapt.XIII, pp.567-66.

33. New I.A., Vol.I., pp.581-82.

34. B.I., p.160 (Mangrol inscription).

of the god in Sri Harigumata. ³⁵ Hanaka's son and successor was Mokheraji who is said to have conquered ³⁶ Baimarad from the Valas and Unrals from the Kolis. His military prowess was also felt in the south up to Anokara where he expelled Mohammedans from Ghogha and captured an island of Piram ³⁷. But the most noteworthy reference to his achievements is preserved by the Ras Mala which says that once 'Mohammed Toghluk Shan turned his arms against Mokherajee Gogel. The immediate cause assigned by Hindoo legends is the ill-treatment of a merchant of Delhi, who brought fourteen ³⁸ vessels laden with gold dust to Perum which Mokherajee plundered'. Now in a fierce battle that ensued 'much troops of Oruznee came against Perumon and Ghogha -----'. Mohammed Shan then drew off his troops hoping to entice

35. B.I., p. 161.

36. B.G., Chapt. XIII, pp. 387-89.

37. Ibid., Chapt. XIII, pp. 387-89.

38. Forbe's Ras Mala, Vol. I, p. 295.

the Gonii from his impregnable position -----.

Mokhera, the Muroo, attacked the Padeshah's army; he trampled the Mohammedans in the mud -----. Then Mokhera fell'.³⁹ Probably, the Sultan of Delhi, who sent his armies against Mokheraji was Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah who despatched his general Balban to conquer Malava and Gujrata in 1252 A.D. This mighty adventurer must have carried his arms through the peninsula where his armies had to pay heavily for the adventure. He

MOKHERAJI'S SUCCESSORS

Mokheraji was succeeded by a host of rulers who ascended the throne one after the other. His son was

39. Forbe's Ras Mala, Vol.I, p.235.

Dungaraji who lived at Ghogha. He was followed by his son Vejoji. The latter's son and successor was Kanoji. Kanoji's son Sarangaji had to face another danger of the Mohammedans.⁴⁰ It is said that 'the army of the Ahmedabad Sultan came to Guhilwad to levy tribute. Ranji, uncle of Sarangaji saying that there was not sufficient money in the treasury paid a portion of the sum demanded and handed over Sarangaji as security for the remainder and himself usurped the gadi'.⁴¹ Whatever be the truth, we have no definite evidence to show as to how far he maintained intactness of the Guhilot kingdom.

40. B.G., Chapt. XIII, pp. 387-88.

41. Ibid., pp. 387-88.

(111) THE GUHILOTS OF SISODĀ

The Naya Sāgara Talao inscription says that the Guhilots branched off into two sections one of which was known as Ravala and other as Rana during the reign of the Guhilot king Rarna (Ranasimha)⁴² of the main line. The former continued at Nagada whereas the latter under Ranasimha's son, Ranaṇa held the fief of Sisodā.

RAHAPA

The Naya Sāgara Talao inscription states that Rāhapa 'getting furious went, by the order of King Rarna and by the auspices declared by the augurs, to Mandora,

⁴². B.I., p.154.

conquered Mokālasi and brought him prisoner, in a laudable manner, to his father. Karma, depriving him of his title of Rāna, released him (Mokālasi) and transferred it (title Rāna) to (his) dear Rāhapa⁴³. Rāhapa is said to have ruled over a territory obtained by valour, in Chitrakuta by the auspicious blessings of a Brahmana named Sarasaya of the priestly class of Pallivala.⁴⁴ Rāhapa became an eminent breeder of horses in Chitrakuta and was called Sisodiya from his formerly residing in the city of Sisoda⁴⁵. That Rāhapa's claims of conquest at Sisoda are not a mere vaunt, is, no doubt, clear from the Khyāta of Nānsī, which speaks of his victories over the Rāna of Medata whom Major Erskine⁴⁷ has identified with Mokala, the Pratihara ruler of Mandor (in Jodhpur).

43. B.I., p.154.

44. Ibid., p.154.

45. Ibid., p.154.

46. Nānsī's Khyāta, Vol.I., p.21.

47. Rajputana Gazetteers, Vol.II-A, pt.I, p.151.

RAHAPA'S SUCCESSORS

We are left to grope in the dark after Rahapa, except for the uncertain light thrown by the khyāta of Nansi which says that he was followed by his successors in the following order

1. Rahapa
2. Narapati
3. Dinakarna (Dinakara)
4. Jasakarna
5. Nagapala
6. Purnapala (Purapala)
7. Prithvipala (Rana Prathama)
8. Bhuvanasiṃha (Bhunagesi)
9. Bhimasimha
10. Jayasimha
11. Maharana Lakshmanasimha (1303- A.D.)

Manarana Arisimha (Arasi or Arsi)

Ajayasimha

15. Hammira (1326 A.D. - 1364 A.D.)

The details of the early six rulers - Narapati, Dinakara, Jasakara, Nagapala, Purnapala and Prithipala are not known to us. The Tarikh-i-Firishta⁴⁸ describes Bhuvanashima as the saviour of the Chitoda fort from the raids of Mohammedans. The Kanapura inscription⁴⁹ credits him with the victories over Alaaddin Sultan of Delhi and over a Chahamana King Sri Rituka. Further, the Damod inscription⁵⁰ says that Bhuvanapala conquered Kailinjar, Danais, Gurjara and the territories in the south and gave a crushing blow to the armies from Delhi. Probably, this Bhuvanashima of the Sisoda line, helped Samarasima in defending Chitoda against the march of Alau-d-din's army⁵¹ through Medapata in 1200 A.D. The Aumbnalagarn inscription indicates that Lakshmanashima was raised to the throne of Chitoda after the

48. Briggs; Firishta, Vol.1., p.327; Elliot, Vol.III., p.42-43.

49. B.I., p.115.

50. E.I., Vol.XVI, p.10.

51. Elliot, Vol.III, pp.42-43; Brigg's; Firishta, Vol.I, p.327.

surrender of Ratnasimha to Alau-d-din in 1503 A.D.⁵²
Lakshmanasimha is said to have lost his life in the⁵³
battle against Alau-d-din along with his seven sons
in defence of Chitoda when Ratnasimha, the Guhilot
ruler of the main line died. After Ratnasimha's
death Arisimha, the son of Lakshmanasimha had to
assume control of affairs in Chitoda. Arisimha, was
succeeded by the sunlike Hammira whose glory was⁵⁴
equal to his'.

52. I.H.Q., 1931, p.293, f.n.2.

53. E.I., Vol.XXI, p.261, V.160.

54. B.I., p.125.

(1v) THE GUHILOTS OF VĀGADA

SAMANTASIMHA

The Guhilot family of Vāgada began well under Samantasimha who 'crushed the large enemies of the Guila King Chaurasimalaka of Vāgada'.⁵⁵ The Uthman (Sironi 1000 A.D.)⁵⁶, Baznera (1000 A.D.)⁵⁷ and the Sanderuo (1000 A.D.)⁵⁸ inscriptions of his successors bestow high praise on Samantasimha. The Prithviraja Raso throws interesting side-light on the relations between the Guhilots and the Sakambhari Chahamanas and we are informed that these houses

55. H.N.4, Vol.II., pp.453-54.

56. A.S.I., W.C., 1916-17, pp.65-66; E.I., XX, Appendix, p.64, No.441.

57. A.S.I., W.C., 1906-09, E.I., XX, Appendix, p.64, No.444, 445, 447.

58. E.I., XX, Appendix, p.61, No.446.

were united through a matrimonial alliance. Pritaviraja III's sister Pritna Bai was wedded to Samantasimha (Samatsi) who fought bravely against the armies of Mohammed Ghori in the battle at Tarain in 1192 A.D.

JAYATASIMHA (1196 A.D. - 1220 A.D.)

Shortly after the death of Samantasimha in 1192 A.D., the sun of the Guhilot power temporarily eclipsed in Vagada. The Chaulukya ruler, Bhim II soon captured the land and installed Amritapala as his governor of this region. But the Chaulukyan arms could not be felt in this region for long. The Chaulukya rule was paralysed by internal dissensions, for 'the king was too tender in age to suppress his Samantas and enemies'

59. H.R., Vol. III, pt. I, p. 54 (Divada inscription)

60. The Glory that was Gurjaradesa, Vol. III, p. 204, (Kirti Kaumudi).

and the repeated raids of Kutub-ud-din Aibak(1197 A.D.) shattered the Chaulukyas' power finally. The decline of the Chaulukyas gave splendid opportunity to Jayatasimha to recapture his ancestral lands.

SIHADADEVA (1220 A.D. - 1250 A.D.)

Sihadadeva, son of Jayatasimha was certainly more than a mere name. An intense cultural activity kept pace with and gave dignity to his material expansion. His foreign minister nana Vilhana encouraged that objective by making a land-grant of Runya village to the temple of Mata in 1221 A.D.

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Sihadadeva assumed the title of Maharajadhiraja

61. H.R., Vol.III, pt.I., p.56.

62. H.R., Vol.III., pt.I., p.56.

signifying his enhanced political status and degree of independence he enjoyed during his reign.

VIJAYASIMHADEVA

Vijayasimhadeva mounted the throne in 1234 A.D.⁶³ after the death of his father, Simhaddeva. He has been described as the donor of gold to the temple of Ambikadevi.⁶⁴ He erected the Vijayanatha temple of Siva at Jhaola in 1251 A.D.⁶⁵

On the death of Vijayassimhadeva, his son Devapaladeva ascended the throne of Vagada. He enjoyed a long term of peaceful reign and is described as Manarajakula or (Manirawal) in the plate of Birasimhadeva,⁶⁶ (1267 A.D.) Devapaladeva's reign must have terminated in

63. H.R., Vol. III., pt. I., p. 36.

64. Ibid., pt. I., p. 36.

65. Ibid., pt. I., p. 36.

66. Ibid., pt. I., p. 58.

1207 A.D.⁶⁷ when his son Bīrasimnadeva ascended the throne. During his reign the kingdom was confronted by a Bhil uprising. Under the leadership of Dungaria the Bhils gathered considerable force⁶⁸ and fortune. Dungaria intended to marry the daughter of a Brāhmana, Salāśnan. Perceiving the bad intentions of the Bhil chief Salāśnan supplicated to Bīrasimma for his rescue. The latter at once took up his cause and killed the savage.

BĪRASIMHADEVA

Bīrasimnadeva was a benevolent ruler. He made a land-grant in village Hala of Catij (Katiyor) Patnaka to a Brāhmana, Talna, son of Vaidya⁶⁹. He made

67. H.R., Vol.III., pt.I., p.58.

68. Ibid., pt.I., p.60.

69. Ibid., pt.I., p.60.

other princely donations for religious purposes and built the Kandi of a temple in Baroda (Vatapadraka) in Vagada⁷⁰. He is also credited with having given a village Mangamadaka (Mungeda) to Vagnaditya, son of an astronomer, Manapa and a village Vasa Vasa⁷¹ (Vara Vasa) to his priest Shri Shankar in 1505 A.D.

MAHARAJA BHACHUNDAJI (C. 1505 A.D. - 1531 A.D.)

The Baroda inscription furnishes with the Vikram year 1505 or 1508 A.D. as the last date for Birasimhadeva's reign. Bhachundaji must have come to the throne in 1505 A.D. after his father's death. Unfortunately, our authorities have nothing to say about him except that he was succeeded by Dungarasingh who was the founder of Dungarapura.

70. H.R., Vol. III., pt. I., p. 61.

71. Ibid., pt. I., p. 61.

CHAPTER VIII

GUHILOT ADMINISTRATION

In the previous chapters we have traced the rise and fall, and the successes and failures of the Guhilot dynasty, and now we describe, on the evidence of epigraphic, literary and other sources, what form of administration the Guhilots had and how it functioned during a period of about eight hundred years from C. 550 A.D. to 1364 A.D.

Most of the authorities on administration in ancient India declare that a state (*Rājya*) is constituted by seven elements (*angas*) - *Swāmin* (ruler), *amātya* (minister), *raṣṭra* (the territory of the state and its people), *durga* (forts), *kosa* (accumulated wealth in the ruler's treasury), *danda* (army) and *mitra* (allies)¹.

The Guhilot inscriptions indicate that they had the same

1. For full references see R.E.S., Vol.III., p.17,

(P.V.Kane: History of Dharma Śāstras).

conception of the state, and that their kingdom was administered on this principle. Nripa (ruler)², Amātya (Minister)³, Desha (territory)⁴, Durga (fort)⁵, Shrikarana (treasury)⁶, Vāhini (army)⁷ and mitra (allies)⁸ mentioned in the Guhilot records may be regarded as respective synonyms of Sukra's seven constituents

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1. B.I., p. 76 (Kasiājī's Chhatrī Inscription of 1274 A.D.); B.I., p. 72 (Hastā Mātā inscription of Suchivarma).
 2. A.M.A., 1925, p. 2. (Nandesānā inscription of 1222 A.D.); I.A., Vol. XIX, p. 165, No. 26 (Ognaniryuktisātra of 1227 A.D.)
 3. B.I., p. 112 (Kalingājī inscription).
 4. A.A., Vol. II., pp. 549-50 (The Śringī Kishī Inscription; Peterson's fifth report, p. 25; L.S. of Śrāvanaprakramana-sutra Churni of 1260 A.D.; A.A., Vol. I., p. 475, f.n. 4.
 5. Shri Magnata Durge.
 6. A.M.A., p. 2; A.A., I., p. 470, f.n. 1. (Nandesānā Inscription of 1222 A.D.)
 7. B.I., p. 103 (The Kalingājī inscription); B.I., p. 72 (Kasiājī's Chhatrī inscription of 1274 A.D.).
 8. B.I., Vol. XII, p. 25. (The Chātsū inscription).
 9. Sukra, Vol. I., pp. 122-124.

of the state.

We can consider Guhilot administration under those seven heads:

(1) THE KING

Sukra declares that 'the king is the head, the ministers are the eyes, all the ears, treasury the mouth, army the mind, capital and rashtra are hands and feet.'¹⁰ The Guhilot inscriptions show that the ideal of Kingship in the Guhilot kingdom was very much the same as found in the ancient literature. In the Guhilot kingdom the king was the head of the state and administration. The Hastamata inscription describing the good qualities of a Guhilot king, Sachivarma says that he was 'foremost of the meritorious and possessed the qualities of firmness,

10. Sukra, Vol.I., pp.122-24.

good assistance, uprightness, good behaviour truthfulness
and noble birth'.¹¹ Suchivarna in the same record is
praised for 'causing the lotuses, namely good persons to
thrive; dispelling the darkness namely enemies; illuminating
the directions, removing the love of vice like night;
disclosing merits'.¹² Another Guhilot record praises
Samira as 'a great hero, who was brave, who was of
truthful and endearing speech, and who does not lose
patience'.¹³ These references show that the king was
regarded as a man of character par excellence in all
respects.

The king was expected to rule the kingdom
according to the laws of the sacred literature, and the
Guhilot inscriptions often mention this fact. The Kasiagi's
Chhatra inscription of 1174 A.D.¹⁴ says that, 'Gunila who
was as glorious as Visnu ruled his territory with justice'.

11. B.I., p.75.

12. B.I., p.75.

13. B.I., p.105, (Ekalingaji Inscription of 1415 A.D.)

14. B.I., p.75.

In the Hastā Mata inscription the Guhilot king Suchivarma¹⁵ is praised for not 'transgressing his limits' of his rights in the administration of the state. It can hardly be expected that all the Guhilot kings possessed all the good qualities of a king prescribed by the sacred texts. But that kings like Gunila, Bappa, Bhartribastell, Allata, Vijayasingha, Samantasinha, Jaitrasinha, Tejasinha, Samarasinha and Hammira had qualities of statesmanship, heroism, self confidence and intelligence is evident from their achievements both in the political field and in other respects.

The fate of a dynasty in those days largely depended on the personality of the king, and the reign of a king without the necessary virtues often caused disaster, as happened during the reigns of Shaktikumara and Ratnasinha.

The king was not only the administrative head of the state; he was also the military leader of his

¹⁵. B.I., p.73.

kingdom. The generalship of the king was of great importance. We know that Shaktikumara's lack of martial spirit brought disaster to the kingdom while Jaitrasinna led his army against the Muslims to win back the territories of the dynasty. Although the king was helped by his ministers and military officers in carrying out operations on the battlefield, the final decision as to tactics and strategy depended primarily on the king. Protection of the state was regarded as the supreme and distinctive obligation of the king. His duty was to undertake military operations to quell internal rebellions and carry out external expeditions of conquest. While discharging martial duties he was accompanied by a Sandhivigrahika¹⁸ (Minister of peace and war) to the battlefield. To maintain peace and order in home territories the king appointed a¹⁷ Talavaksna in-charge of the capital cities, Nagada, Ahada and Chitoda and Kottapala¹⁸ was entrusted with the defence of the fort. The Sarnesvara inscription of

16. E.I., p. 86.

17. E.I., Vol. XXII, pp. 285-88.

18. E.I., Vol. XXII, 285-88.

19
951 A.D. states that Durlabharaja discharged the
duties of Sandhivigrahika under the Guhilot king
Aliata. We know from the Chitrava inscription of
173 A.D. that Udayaraja and his son Kshema acted
as the Talavaksas of Nagada and Chitoda respectively²⁰
during the reigns of Mahanastika and Jaitrasimha.
The arts of war were so essential part of life during
the age of the Guhilots that even the chief minister
was required to be well-versed in them. In Chitrava
inscription of Samarasimha there is the mention of
Pradama Bhimasimha fighting on the foot of Chitoda
for the cause of Jaitrasimha.^{20a.}

The Guhilots were greatly influenced by
the stories of the Ramayana and Mahabharata, and their
kings were often compared with the famous characters
of the two epics. The Nasirji's Chatri inscription

19. B.I., p. 60.

20. B.I., Vol. XII, pp. 285-86.

20a. H.R., Vol. I, p. 473.

विक्रान्तरत्नं समरेष रत्नः सपत्नसंहर-हृतप्रपन्नः ।

भीमिन्द्रपुरस्य तलाटिकायां भीमसिंहैः समं समर ॥२६॥

of 1074 A.D. says that the Guhila's prowess reminded
of 'the fight of Bhimasena, the cause of the destruction
of the Kurus'.²¹ The same record mentions that Shiladitya
by his wisdom and valour excelled the mythical kings.
'Pritan and others'.²² and compares the Guhilot king
Mantata with Partha (Arjuna) in destroying Duryodhana
vanini (army of Duryodhana) protected by Dussasana'.²³ It
further adds that Amraprasada was like proud 'Parashurama'
destroying the Kshatriyas'. The attitude of the Guhilot
king towards his subjects was often guided by the rules
of the two epics and a Guhilot king Amraprasada is said
in the Nanapura inscription of 1440 A.D. to have
'imitated Sri Rama, Yudhishtira and other kings 'by his
fame, virtue, protection of his subjects, truthfulness
and other qualities'.²⁴

It was always considered the duty of
Guhilot kings to support Brahmanas, saints and learned

21. B.I., p.79.

22. B.I., p.79.

23. B.I., p.80.

24. B.I., p.116.

people, to hold assemblies of poets and learned men, to make gifts of land to religious and educational institutions, and to advance learning in every way.

The Atapura inscription of 877 A.D. says that

Gunadatta was the delight of the Brahmanas of

Anandapura.²⁵ In the Abu inscription of 1205 A.D.

Bhartribhata I is said to have 'delighted P. naitis with presents'.²⁶ The Karnesvara inscription²⁷ of 951 A.D.

records that Allata used to hold assemblies of

Gosthikas (religious men) who were entrusted with the

administration of a temple. In the Kana,ura inscription

Krumman II is praised as the 'weigher of the weight

in gold of himself with his son and wife'.²⁸ The last

reference refers to the custom of giving gifts to the

Brahmanas of as much gold as equals the weight of the

body (Tuladana). The Partabgarh inscription of 946 A.D.

25. I.A., -Vol. 33, p. 186.

26. B.I., p. 99.

27. B.I., p. 66.

28. B.I., p. 15.

has mentioned that Gunilot King Bhartribhata II made
a perpetual land-grant of a village to the deity of
Indrarajadityadeva of Ghontavarsika²⁹. That the
kings patronised poets and other learned men is
evident from the Gunilot inscriptions. The Barn svara
inscription of 951 A.D. informs us that Balagadhi-
raja (medical men) Rudraditya, a learned Brahmana
Vasantaraja and the learned sages - Nagarada,
Kavasa, Haraka and Bhuvana adorned the court of Allata.³⁰
The Natta inscription of 971 A.D. states that a learned
poet, Akaravi,³¹ pupil of Srivedanga Muni was the court
poet of Naravahana.

For their patronage of art and architecture
the Gunilot rulers can be ranked among the most famous
of Indian kings. Their greatness is attested by the
magnificent temples and sculptures of Anada, Chitoda and
Nagada. The Mallinagaji temple erected by Bappa near
modern Udaipur, the Kurari³² temple constructed by Allata

29. E.I., Vol. XIV, pp. 176-186 ff.

30. B.I., p. 68.

31. B.I., p. 71.

32. B.I., p. 68.

in 951 A.D. in Anada, a Jain temple of Shyama
³³ Parshwanatha constructed by wife of Tejasimha in
³⁴ Chitoda and Achalesvara Mahadeva on Mount Abu
 repaired by Samarasimha are the excellent examples
 of the Architecture of the Guhilot age.

The earlier Guhilot kings are given
³⁵ the simple royal epithets viz., Medinipati, ³⁶ Bhupa,
³⁷ Nripa, ³⁸ Narapati etc. But after their attaining
 considerable power and prestige during the reign of
 Jaitrasimha (C. 1216 A.D. - 1253 A.D.) , they assumed
 in full royal titles. In the Partabgarh inscription

C. I. I., Vol. XXII, pp. 265-66; A. M. N., 13. 3, p. 6.

34. B. I., p. 95.

35. B. I., p. 68.

36. B. I., p. 70.

37. B. I., p. 75.

38. B. I., p. 76.

of 946 A.D. even an early Guhilot king, Bhartribhata II³⁹
(942 A.D.) is endowed with the title of 'Maharajadhiraja'
or lord of the kings. In his Mandesama inscription of
1022 A.D. Jaitrasimha is given the royal epithet of⁴⁰
Maharajadhiraja. The Sravakaprakramanasutra Churni
credits Tejasimha with the full royal titles, viz.,⁴¹
Maharajadhiraja Paramesvara Paramabhattacharaka'.

The crown rested upon the hereditary
principle and the eldest son generally succeeded his
father to the throne. When the king died childless, or
abdicated, the younger brother succeeded to the throne.
This happened in the case of Sucrivarma⁴² who succeeded
his elder brother Ambaprasada when the latter was
killed by the Chahamanya ruler Vakapatiraja II in 1010 A.D.
When Samantasimha abdicated, he was succeeded by his⁴³
younger brother, Kumarasimha. The powerful vassals
(Samantas) and ministers probably had some influence on

39. E.I., Vol. XIV, pp. 176-186 ff.

40. R.M.R., 1925, p. 2; H.R. II, p. 473 f.n. 3.

41. Peterson's fifth report p. 23, H.R. II, p. 473 f.n. 4.

42. B.I., p. 83.

43. I.A., Vol. LIII, pp. 101-102.

a question of disputed succession. The Abu inscription⁴⁴ of 1285 A.D. indicates that the Samantas of Samantasimha selected his younger brother, Kumarasimha as their king.

Nothing is known about the influence of the queen on administrative affairs of the state, but the Guhilot inscriptions mention that the queens took active part in the benevolent activities. The Kundesvara⁴⁵ inscription of 861 A.D. says that Yosnomati, wife of the Guhilot king Aparajita built a temple of Visnu and the Atapura inscription states that Hariyadevi, the queen⁴⁶ of Allata founded a city, Harsnapura. The Chitoda⁴⁷ inscription of 1276 A.D. informs us that Jayatalladevi, wife of Tejasimha built a Jain temple of Parsnawanatha in Chitoda.

The king had absolute authority on all the affairs of the state, but the Guhilot king was assisted

44. B.I., p.32, 45

45. E.I., Vol.IV, p.30.

46. B.I., p.68.

47. R.M.R., 1923, p.3; Beng. As. Soc. of J, Vol.55, pt.I, pp.18 and 48.

by a council of ministers. In the internal matters
he consulted his ⁴⁰Pradhāna (Chief Minister) and ⁴³Amātya
(Minister). ⁴⁰Mamata and ⁴³Bhīmasena acted as
minister and chief minister of internal affairs during
the reigns of Allata and Jitrasena respectively.
In military and external affairs the king was assisted
by the ⁵⁰Senani (Commander-in-chief) and ⁵¹Sandhivigrahika
(⁵²Minister for peace and war). The ⁵²Sarnesvara inscription
of 651 A.D. mentions Varāhasena acting as Senani of
Aparajita and the ⁵³Sarnesvara inscription speaks of
Sandhivigrahika Durlabharaja assisting Allata in the
affairs of war and peace.

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40. B.I., p.68 (Sarnesvara Inscription of 951 A.D.).
43. E.I., Vol. XXII, pp. 285-88 (Chirawa inscription of 1273 A.D.)
50. E.I., Vol. XIV, pp. 176-186; B.I., p. 155.
51. B.I., p. 68.
52. E.I., Vol. XIV, pp. 176-186.
53. B.I., p. 68.

The spirit of toleration and respect for other religions is striking among the Guhilot kings. They, though themselves worshippers of Shiva and Vishnu, patronised Jainism and respected their sages. The Chitoda inscription of 1278 A.D. informs us that Tejasimha favoured the Jain saints and his wife Jayatalladevi built a Jain temple of Parswanatha in Chitoda. Both the Pasmupata saint Bhavasankara and the Jain saint, Parswanachandra were honoured by the Guhilot king Samarasimha who gave munificent endowments for the construction of a monastery for Pradyumnasuri, a Jain saint and repaired a matha (monastery) on Mount Abu at the request of a Pasmupata ascetic, Bhavasankara.

54. Beng. As. Soc. J., Vol.55, pt.I, p.48.

55. B.I., p.35; I.A., Vol, XVI, pp.345-48.

56. E.I., Vol. XXII, pp.285-88.

(11) a. THE MINISTERS

In the Guhilot state the ministers forward an integral part of administration and were largely responsible for the welfare of the state. They were generally known as Mahamatyas⁵⁷. The Mandesama inscription of 1222 A.D.⁵⁸ records Mahamatya Dungarasimha as head of the treasury (Srikarana) and Oghaniryuktisutra of 1227 A.D.⁵⁹ says that Mahamatya Jagatasimha acted as minister of seals and commerce (Mudra-Vyapara) during the reign of Jaltrasimha. Sometimes ministers were endowed with the feudatory titles of 'Maharaja'. The Kundesvara inscription of 661 A.D. credits Varanasimha⁶⁰ a minister of Aparajita with the title of 'Maharaja'.

57. R.M.H., 1925, p.2.

58. Ibid., 1925, p.2.

59. I.A., Vol. XIX, p.165, No.66, Appendix p.52.

60. E.I., Vol. XIV, pp.176-186.

The practice of hereditary succession to ministerial posts where the son was of suitable ability was generally followed in the Guhilot state. The Chirawa inscription⁶¹ of Samarasimha informs us that when Pradhana (Chief Minister) Bhimasimha died he was succeeded by his son, Rajasimha to the post of chief minister during the reign of Jaitrasimha.

Ministers were very important and influential members of the Guhilot government. The ministers and high officials were empowered to make land-grants. We are informed by the Chirawa inscription⁶² that a general, Yogaraja built the temple of Yogesvara and granted some land near the lake Kalelaya for its maintenance during the reign of Padmasimha.

The duties entrusted to the Pradhana (chief minister) according to the Guhilot inscriptions agree with the suggestion of Sukra that the chief minister

61. E.I., Vol.XXII, pp.265-86. श्रीभीमसिंहपुत्रः प्राधान्यं प्राप्य राजसिंहाय ।
बहुमेते नेकघ्यं प्राप्नु प्रतिपन्नं दधद्भूदये । २५॥

62. Ibid., Vol.XXII, pp.265-88. H.R., Vol.I, p.473.

must be Sarvadarśi, i.e., the Superintendent of the whole
administration. ⁶³ The Pradhāna (chief minister) Bhīmasimha
was required to look after military, administrative and
even religious affairs of the state during the reign of
Jaitrasimha. The Chirawa inscription ⁶⁴ infers us that
chief minister Bhīmasimha lost his life fighting against
enemy at the foot of Chitoda for the cause of his lord,
Jaitrasimha.

It is evident from the Guhilot inscriptions
that, besides the Pradhāna (chief minister), there were
other ministers of the state in charge of various
departments. According to Sukra, the Ministry, whose
strength was to be ten, was to consist of Purohita,
Pradhāna, ⁶⁵ Sachiva, Mantri, Pradvivaka, Pandita, Sumantra,
Amatya and Duta. In the Guhilot records the offices of

63. Sukra, Vol.II, pp.168-173.

64. E.I., Vol.XXII, pp.285-86.

65. Sukra, Vol.II, pp.141-143.

⁶⁶ Pandita, ⁶⁷ Pradhana, ⁶⁸ Amatya are mentioned. Sukra, ⁶⁹
defines Sumantra as the minister of the treasury .

So the Amatya (minister) of the Srikarana (treasury)
may be regarded as a synonym of Sukra's Sumantra.

Dr. P.V.Rane's view that the words Mantri, Sachiva and ⁷⁰
Amatya are usually interchangeable, though sometimes
distinguished, seems applicable to the Guhilot
administration. The title of 'Mahamatya' is frequently
used for the ministers in the Guhilot records.

- - - ⁷¹
The Nandesama inscription of 1222 A.D.
credits Dungarasima, the minister of Srikarana (treasury)
with the title of Mahamatya of Jaltrasima and the
Bravaka, prakramansutra speaks of samudra, a minister of
seals and commerce during the reign of Tejasima bearing
the same title of 'Mahamatya'. ⁷²

66. B.I., p. 68.

67. B.I., Vol. XXII, pp. 265-88.

68. I.A., Vol. XIX, p. 165, No. 86; B.I., p. 68; H.R., Vol. I, p. 473, f.n. 4; Peterson's fifth Report, p. 23.

69. Sukra, Vol. II, pp. 168-173.

70. History of Dharmashastras, Vol. III, p. 104.

71. R.M.R., 1925, p. 2, H.R., Vol. I, p. 470, f.n. 3.

72. Peterson's fifth Report, p. 23; H.R., Vol. I, p. 473, f.n. 4.

श्रीतेज सिंहदेव कृष्णारा विजय राज्ये तत्पाद पद्मोपजीविति महामात्य श्रीसमुदुरे
मुद्राव्यापारान् परिपंथयति श्रीमदाचार्य वास्तव्यवं रामचंद्रशिखेरा कमलचंदेरा
पुस्तिका व्यालेखि ।

Treasury is called Srikarana in the Guhilot records. It was administered by a minister (Mahamatya). The Nandesama inscription of 1222 A.D. mentions Mahamatya 'Dungarasimha' ⁷³ acting as minister of the Srikarana department during the reign of Jaitrasimha.

Sakra calls the revenue officer Amatya who had an accurate account of state revenue and taxes. The Guhilot records mention that Mahamatya Jagatasimha ⁷⁴ and Mahamatya Samudra ⁷⁵ were entrusted with the department of seals and commerce during the reigns of Jaitrasimha and Tejasimha respectively.

73. R.M.R., 1925, p.2; H.R., Vol.II, p.470, f.n.3.

74. H.R., Vol.II, p.471, f.n.1; I.A., Vol.XIX, p.135, No.88; Peterson's third Report 1884-85 Appendix p.52 (Ognaniryuktisūtra of 1227 A.D.).

75. H.R., Vol.II, p.473, f.n.4; Peterson's fifth Report, p.23 (Śrāvaka-prakṛamanasūtra Chūṇī of 1580 A.D.).

Another important minister of the Guhilot state was the Sandhivigrahita (the minister for peace and war). Sandhivigrahita Durlabharaja⁷⁶ is referred to in the Sarnesvara inscription of 951 A.D. as the minister for peace and war during the reign of Allata. According to Sukra, the foreign minister was to be well-versed in the fourfold policy of Sama (conciliation), dana (ap, easement), danda (war), and Bheda (causing dissension in the enemy's camp).⁷⁷ It is difficult to ascertain how much authority the minister could exercise in the affairs of peace and war.

b. OTHER OFFICERS OF THE STATE

(1) AKS LAPATALA (ACCOUNT OFFICE OR RECORD OFFICE)

The Sarnesvara inscription of 951 A.D. records the appointment of Mayura and Samudra to the posts of

76. B.I., p. 68.

77. Sukra, Vol. II, pp. 191-193; S.G.A.I., p. 133.

Akshapata by the Gunilot King Allata⁷⁸ and the
Devakulika inscription⁷⁹ informs us that Gripati was
incumbent of this office (Akshapata) during the
reign of Naravahana.

(2) BALAGADHARAJA OR THE STATE PHYSICIAN

There was probably more than one physician
as appears from the Karnesvara inscription⁸⁰ of 351 A.D.
which mentions Rudramitya acting as the chief of medical
men (Balagadharaja) during the reign of Allata.

(3) PRATIHARA OR THE CHAMBERLAIN

The duty of a Pratihara was to present
visitors or guests to the king. As the Pratihara was

⁷⁸ B.I., p. 60.

⁷⁹ A.S.I., v. C., 1900, p. 67; A.N., Vol. I, p. 400, f. n. 2.

⁸⁰ B.I., p. 60.

very near the king's person and was often present on important occasions, his post was a prominent one. The access to the royal court was regulated by him and his staff. The Barnesvara inscription of 951 A.D. records Yashanpushpa acting as the Pratinara in the court of Allata.⁸¹

(4) SENANĪ OR THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF

The Mundesvara inscription of 661 A.D. refers to Varanasiha acting as Senanī (commander-in-chief) of the army of Aparajita⁸². The Ekalingaji inscription of 1429 A.D. informs us that the commander of the Guhilot forces (Vahini)⁸³ was known as Senanī whose duty was to help the king incampaigns against the enemies.

81. B.I., p. 68.

82. E.I., Vol. XIV, pp. 176-186.

83. B.I., p. 103.

(5) VANDIPATI OR THE SUPERINTENDENT OF JAILS

The Sarnesvara inscription records that Naga was incumbent of the post of Vandipati during the reign of Allata.⁸⁴ The Vandipati was entrusted with the department of prisons.

(6) KAYASTHA: I.E., THE SCRIBE

He was apparently the writer of the records or legal documents. Pala and Vellaka were two scribes in the court of Allata who wrote his famous charter of Sarnesvara in 951 A.D.⁸⁵

(7) TALARAKSHA OR OFFICER IN CHARGE OF A CAPITAL CITY

The duty of a Talaraksha was to maintain peace

84. B.I., p. 68.

85. B.I., p. 68.

and order in the city. The Chirawa inscription says that the Talaraksma was required to protect 'the good and punish the wicked'⁸⁶ and refers to Uddharana and his son Kshema acting as the Talaraksmas of Nagada and Chitoda respectively during the reigns of Mahanasiha and Jaitrasimha⁸⁷. The same inscription also indicates that succession to the post of the Talaraksma was usually hereditary.

(C) KOTTAPALA OR ADMINISTRATOR OF A FORT

The Chirawa inscription informs us that several Kattapalas were entrusted with the administration and defence of the forts.

86. E.I., Vol. XXII, pp. 265-66.

87. E.I., Vol. XXII, pp. 265-66.

C. NON-OFFICIALS ATTENDING THE ROYAL COURT

(1) DVIJA OR PUROHITA, I.E., CHAPLAIN

The chaplain ministered to the spiritual needs of the king. He received gifts, landgrants and attended the court regularly. The Sarnasvara inscription makes mention of Vasantaraja acting as chaplain during
88
the reign of Allata.

(11) PANDITAS OR LEARNED BRAHMANAS

Panditas are mentioned in the Gaudilot inscriptions as the donees, and the term did not indicate a ministerial post. Learned Brahmanas were apparently given this title and were patronised king. The Panditas and Purohitas must have ~~had~~ influence on their administrative affairs relating to religious and

similar functions. The ^{- -}Abu inscription of 1285 A.D. informs that Bhartribhata⁸⁹I delighted some Panditas with presents.

(iii) REPRESENTATIVES OF DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS SECTS

The Chirawa^{- -} inscription refers to Shivarasi, head of the Pasupata sect and Ratnaprabhasuri, head of the Jain⁻ acharyas representing their sects in the court of Tejasimha.⁹⁰

(iv) PRESIDENT OF MERCHANTS

The ⁻Barnesvara inscription of 951 A.D. records Devaraja, head of the merchants representing them in the court of Allata.⁹¹

(v) GOSTHIKAS OR THE GUARDIANS OF TEMPLE

From the Barnesvara inscription we know

89. B.I., p.89.

90. E.I., Vol. XXII, pp. 203-04.

91. B.I., p.88

that the Coshtikas - Gopa, Prabhāsa, Mañidhara and others were appointed by Allata to look after the temple of Murari.⁹²

(vi) KAVI OR POETS

The composers of the Guhilot inscriptions are often referred to as Kavi or poets. The Natna inscription of 971 A.D refers to Azra Kavi acting as the court poet of king Naravahana.⁹³ Two inscriptions (Rusijaji's Ganatri of 1274 A.D.⁹⁴ and Abu of 1285 A.D.⁹⁵) of Samarasiana were composed by his court poet Vedasharma. The poets earned their livelihood by drafting the inscriptions of the kings and composing their prasastis (Panegyrics).

(vii) CHIEF ARTISAN

Delhana is referred to in the Chirāwa

92. B.I., p. 66.

93. B.I., p. 71.

94. B.I., p. 84.

95. B.I., p. 95.

inscription acting as the chief of the artisans in
the court of Samarasimha.⁹⁶ He was entrusted with
the department of arts and crafts of the state

(viii) SUTRADHARA OR ENGRAVER OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

The Sarnesvara inscription of 951 A.D. refers
to a Sutradhara named Agrata who engraved the panegyric
(prasasti) of Allata in 951 A.D.⁹⁷ and the Abu inscription
of 1285 A.D. mentions one Harnasimha acting as the
Sutradhara during the reign of Samarasimha.⁹⁸ Bhaila, a
Sutradhara of the time of Baladitya is praised in the
Chatsu inscription for his art of engraving.⁹⁹

(ix) RISHIS OR SAGES

The Sarnesvara inscription mentions some sages
viz., Parmata, Guhisa, and Garga, who were patronised by

96. E.I., Vol. XXII, pp. 285-88.

97. B.I., p. 86.

98. B.I., p. 87.

99. E.I., Vol. XII, 1913-14, p. 10.

100 Allata . The Chirawa inscription 101 informs us that a Jain sage Ratnaprabhasuri lived in the court of Tejasinna who was renowned for his learning and the Jain sages Pradyumnasuri and Acharya Parswanandradev along with a Pashupata sage Bhavashankara adorned the court of Samarasimha.

(111) TERRITORY OF THE STATE

In the Guhilot inscriptions the terms Janapada and Desha are often used to denote the whole state. The Rastaji's Chhatra inscription of 1274 A.D. calls the whole state a Janapada while a later record, the Lkalingaji inscription mentions it as 'Desha'. According to Amarakosha, the word Desha,

100. B.I., p. 68.

101. E.I., Vol. XXII, pp. 225-26.

102. B.I., p. 74. *બોમ શ્રી મુકુટ દેવ પ્રતિષ્ઠાસ્થીતો જાત્યંગના સૌંદર્યે નિકેતનં
જગપદઃ શ્રી મેદવાદા મિથઃ ।*

103. B.I., p. 112

શ્રી મેદવાદેશે શ્રી દેવકુલવાટકપુરવરે . . .

Janapada and ¹⁰⁴ *raṣṭra* are synonymous. The whole
Desa or state was further divided into the following
units of administration.

(1) *MAṆḌALA* I.E., DIVISION

The *Chatsu* ¹⁰⁵ *Maṇḍala* and the *Chandapalli-*
¹⁰⁶ *maṇḍala* are mentioned in the *Chatsu* and *Ajantari*
inscriptions respectively.

(2) *CHORĀSIS* (GROUP OF 84 VILLAGES)

The *Maṇḍala* was further sub-divided into
Chorasis, each of which consisted of a group of
eighty-four villages. The *Matnapura* inscription of
1174 A.D. refers to some *Chorāsis*.¹⁰⁷

104. A.D.S., Vol.III., p.100.

105. E.I., Vol.XII, 1913-14, p.10.

106. A.S.I., A.C., 1910-11, p.33; E.I., Vol.XX, p.43, No.324;

A.S.I. Report - 1920-21, p.34.

107. S.I., p.205.

(3) PATAKA OR STHALI

A Pataka was still a smaller territorial division also known as Pata or Sthali. Sri Devakulapataka and Vamanasthali are mentioned in the Akalingaji inscription¹⁰⁸ and Sodhadi Vao inscription¹⁰⁹ of 1146 A.D. respectively.

(4) CHOVISI OR A GROUP OF 24 VILLAGES

A Chevisti was a group of twenty-four villages. Sarangaji and Shanjai of the Saurashtra branch of the Guhilots are referred to in an inscription as the administrators of the Chevisti of Artula and Mandavi¹¹⁰ respectively in the last quarter of the 12th century A.D.

108. B.I., p. 112.

109. B.I., p. 159.

110. I.A., Vol. III, p. 133; B.G., (Kathiavadi Gujarat) p. 263.

(5) TAPA (GROUP OF 8 to 12 VILLAGES)

A tapa was another territorial division comprising usually eight to twelve villages. Sarangaji, a king of the Saurashtra branch of the Guhilots is said to have made a grant of a 'tapa'¹¹¹ of Valukada along with twelve villages to his kinsmen. He also gave a tapa of Trapaja to his relatives of Garidhar.

(6) NAGARA OR CITY

A big town was called Nagara. There is a reference of the foundation of a Nagara on the top¹¹² of the fine Chitrakuta in the Skalingaji inscription of 1489 A.D.

111. D.G., Chapt. XIII, p. 255+ f.n.1.

112. D.I., p. 116.

(7) PURA OR GRAMA (VILLAGE)

The terms Pura or Grama are often found in the Cunniet records to mean a village. The Barnesvara inscription of 851 A.D.¹¹³ refers to the foundation of a Pura called Narsapuram by Maryadevi, wife of Ailata and a Visana vell grama is mentioned in the Sodnadi Vao inscription of 1146 A.D.¹¹⁴ There were some ordinary villages scattered throughout the whole kingdom. But some very important Puras, though few in number were usually towns or military garrisons e.g.,
- - -¹¹⁵
Aghatapura, Nagadranapura, Kengalapura etc.

Thus, on the evidence of the inscriptions, the territorial divisions of the Cunniet kingdom can be defined as follows: The state as a whole was known as 'Medapātadesna', and was sub-divided into some

113. B.I., p. 66.

114. B.I., p. 159.

115. B.I., p. 158.

divisions called Mandalas. These were in turn subdivided into Chovisi which comprised eighty-four villages. The terms Chovisi, and 'tapa' were used to mean the units of twenty-four villages and eight to twelve villages respectively. The word Pataka is not known from other inscriptions, but possible meant a group of twelve villages.

The Gunjot inscriptions indicate that Mandalas were in charge of either a royal prince or vassals (Samantas) of the king. In the Ajahari inscription of 1107 A.D., prince Rajakula Kanastadeva¹¹⁶ is referred to as 'Mahamandalesvara' of Chandapalli. The Belavada (Adu) stone inscription of 1100 A.D. mentions two grades of governor, i.e., Mandalesvara and Mahamandalesvara, and indicates that the provincial¹¹⁷ governors had their own courts and seals. Each

116. A.D. 1., A.C., 1910-11, p. 5.; A.I., Vol. XX, appendix, p. 49, No. 394. also F.N. 1.

117. B.I., p. 221.

Mandalesvara had large military forces under him and was entrusted with the internal administration of the Mandala. In times of war with the neighbouring kingdoms his forces were requisitioned by the central government. We have seen how Mandalesvara rulers of Sisoda lost their lives fighting against the Muslims when Alau-d-din asserted his influence in Caitoda in 1303 A.D. ✓

Very little is known about the heads of other territorial sub-divisions. Most probably the Chorasi, Chovisi, Patana and tapas were under the charge of vassals or Samantas of the king. We find that the Chovisis of Arthila and Mandavi were administered by smaller feudatory rulers Sarangaji and Shanaji of Mangrol in 1325 A.D. Sometimes a member of the royal family was placed in charge of

118. B.G., Chapt. XIII, p. 283.

a village. We know that Rahapa, the son of Nanasima, was in charge of a village Sisoda, and that he was endowed with the title of Hana.

TOWN ADMINISTRATION

The three principalities - Nagada, Chitoda and Anada, of the Guhilot kingdom were administered by the ¹¹⁹ Talaraksnas who were appointed by the kings in recognition of their distinguished military services. We have seen how Uddharana who was able to 'protect the good and punish the wicked' was made the Talaraksna of ¹²⁰ Nagadranapura (Nagada) by king Matnanasima. The post of Talaraksna was usually hereditary. Appointments

119. E.I., Vol. XXII, pp. 285-88.

120. Ibid., Vol. XXII, pp. 285-88.

जातस्यं रदुज्ञाते पूर्वमुदुराभिधः ।

पुमानुमाप्रियो पास्ति संपन्न शुभर्वैभवः ॥ १॥

ये दुष्टशिष्ट शिक्षरा रक्षरा दक्षत्वतस्तलारक्षं ।

भ्रीमथतसिंहनृपतिश्चमार नगद्रु दुंगे ॥ १० ॥

M.R., Vol. I, p. 459 l. 2.

were reserved for the royal favourites. The Chirawa inscription informs us that 'through the favour of Samarasimha, Madana succeeded his father in the post of Talaraksna of Chitoda'.¹²¹ The remuneration of the Talaraksnas was sometimes given by rent-free lands and sometimes by salaries, paid partly in cash and partly in kind. The Chirawa inscription refers to a village Chirakupta given by Padmasimha in gift to Yogaraja, the Talaraksna of Nagada.¹²² The Talaraksnas were allowed to make land-grants and erect temples within their jurisdiction. We are informed in the Chirawa inscription that Madana, the talaraksna of Chitoda granted some land near the lake Kalelaya for the maintenance of the temples of Yogesvara and Yogesvari which were erected by Yogaraja, a Talaraksna of Nagada during the reign of Padmasimha.¹²³

121. E.I., Vol. XXII, pp. 265-66.

122. Ibid., Vol. XXII, pp. 265-66.

123. E.I., Vol. XXII, pp. 265-66.

(1v) THE DUNGAS OR PORTS

Forts constituted one of the most important elements of the Guhilot state. The importance of the
124 125 126 127
forts of Chitoda, Anada, Arthana, Kottadaka,
128 129
Kelavata, Edur and other places in the Guhilot
kingdom is clearly evident from its political history.
The forts provided security for the state and its
people and made access to the heart of the kingdom very
difficult. They also acted as strategic military
stations and helped in defending the country. The

124. E.I., Vol.XXII, p.285.

125. I.A., Vol.LIX, p.163.

126. E.I., Vol.XXII, p.285.

127. E.I., XXII, 285.

128. B.I., p.125.

129. B.I., p.119.

forts were used for the purposes of stores of arms - 130
and army, and were under the supervision of Kottapalas
directly appointed by the king.

(v) THE VĀHINI OR ARMY

The Guhilot army consisted of infantry,
cavalry, elephants and chariots. The Ekalingaji
inscription of 1489 A.D. says that 'Hamaira's forces
appeared active on account of the numerous horses',
----- with large elephants and having a necklace of
jewel of the numerous bravemen.¹³¹ The Chatsu
inscription mentions that Guhilalli 'with excellent horses
from the seacoast, vanquished the Gauda king'¹³² and the
Rajaprasasti Mahakavya records that Kanapa was 'an
eminent breeder of horses'.¹³³ These references show that

130. E.I., Vol. XXII, pp. 285-88.

131. B.I., p. 119.

132. E.I., Vol. XII, 1913-14, p. 10.

133. B.I., p. 154.

the Guhilot army was equipped with the best cavalry. The Guhilot inscriptions mention the use of chariots (Ratnas) in the battle field. The Abu inscription of 1285 A.D. records that 'Naravahana carried away the ¹³⁴ chariots and horses of kings in battles'. The Ekalingaji inscription of 1489 A.D. also refers to ¹³⁵ the use of the chariots.

Elephants (Gajas) and horses (tur-gas) ¹³⁶ played a dominant part in war. Bows (Dhanurdanda), ¹³⁷ arrows (Vishiknas) ¹³⁸, swords (Karawalas) ¹³⁹ and daggers (Aripana) were the principal arms of the army (Vanini).

134. B.I., p. 31.

135. B.I., p. 125.

136. B.I., p. 85.

137. B.I., p. 79.

138. B.I., p. 90. (Sword).

139. B.I., p. 98; I.A., Vol. XVI, p. 345-48. (Dagger)

The Ekalingaji inscription of 1423 A.D. informs us
that the head of the army was the Senani ¹⁴⁰ who was
assisted by the ministers and other officers of the
state. The Deva Kulika inscription says that Gundala
and Mattata, two sons of Akshapatalika Sripati were
'the two arms of Daktikumara' ¹⁴¹. A chief minister
(Pradhana) is praised in the Chirawa inscription of
1273 A.D. for having lost his life in defence of
Chitoda and a mighty general Madana, talaraksha
of Chitoda is reported to have fought for the cause
of Jaitrasimha. ¹⁴² It is thus evident that the military
department was not clearly separated from civil
administration, and officers like the chief minister
and talarakshas of the cities were 'required to lead
the army in the battlefield.'

140. B.I., p. 97.

141. A.S.I., R.C., 1906, p. 63, H.N., Vol. 12, p. 434 and 437.

142. E.I., Vol. XXII, pp. 265-88 (Chirawa inscription of 1273 A.D.)

(v1) TREASURY (SRINARANA)

The Guhilot records do not give much information about the functions of the administrator of the state treasury. The Nandesana inscription of 1222 A.D. records that Lungarasimha was appointed to administer the state treasury by Jaitrasimha.¹⁴³

(v11) THE ALLIES (MITRA)

The seventh or the last constituent part of the state was Mitra, i.e., friendly rulers of other kingdoms. In the early medieval times the chief ambition

143. R.M.R., 1925, p.2; H.H., Vol. I, p.470, f.n.3.

ओं संवत् १२७४ वर्ष वैशाख सुदि १३ सु (शु) के अष्टौ श्रीनाथदेहे
महाराजाधिराज श्रीजयसिंहदेव कल्याण विजयराज्ये तन्नि [युक्त] श्रीश्रीकरो
महं [हुं] गरसीह प्रतिपत्तो - - -

of all the dynasties was to 'become the paramount power at the expense of other kings. No king could rely on the friendship of another. We have seen that Shaktikumara was protected by the Rashtrakuta Dnavala of Husti Kundi, when the former was defeated by the Paramara king Munjaraja¹⁴⁴ Vijayasimha entered into an alliance with the Paramaras¹⁴⁵ and Kalachuris¹⁴⁶. The object of this alliance was to check the rising power of the Chaulukya ruler Jayasimhasiddharaja (1094 A.D. - 1144 A.D.). The Chaulukya ruler of Gujarat, Bhimadeva II (1178 A.D. - 1242 A.D.) was on friendly terms with Kumarasimha. But this relation was due to fear from Mohammed Ghoris invasions over Gujarat.

144. E.I., Vol. X, p. 17.

145. E.I., Vol. II, p. 12; H.I., Vol. I, p. 444.

146. E.I., Vol. II, p. 12.

in 1170 A.D. Immediately after Bhimadevalli's death in 1242 A.D. the Chaulukya King Nanaka Tribhuvanapala¹⁴⁷ invaded the Guhilot kingdom and captured Kottadaka.

Thus we have hardly any evidence of lasting friendly relations between the Guhilots and any other dynasties.

B. WORKS OF PUBLIC UTILITY

That works of public utility were extensively carried out in the Guhilot~~at~~ kingdom is known from inscriptions of the dynasty. In the Sarnesvara inscription

147. E.I., Vol.XXII, pp.455-58; H.A., Vol.II, p.461; I.A., Vol.XI, pp.206-10.

of 951 A.D. Allata is praised for building a temple of¹⁴⁸
Murari and for appointing a medical officer, mudraditya
to look after the health of the people. King Naravahanana
is recorded to have erected a temple on the top of the¹⁴⁹
mountain of Asvatthama which served as a hilly resort in
summer days. Hammira made a gift of Simhavallipura for¹⁵⁰
the worship of Shankara. The Ekalingaji inscription of
1429 A.D. informs us that Hammira built 'a temple where
the gods reside and also caused to be dug a lake as large²⁵¹
as a sea surrounded by gardens of mango trees'. The Abu
inscription records that Samarasimha got a monastery
(Matna) repaired and 'gladly made by means of money good¹⁵²
provision for feeding the monks'.

148. B.I., p.88.

149. B.I., p.71.

150. B.I., p.125.

151. B.I., p.103.

152. B.I., p.95.

C. FISCAL ADMINISTRATION

In now turning from government to economics we may set forth the evidence regarding the principal sources of revenue on which 'depended the stability and strength of the state'. It is evident from the unilol records that land revenues and Sulka taxes were the chief sources of income. Sulka usually means the tolls on custom duties levied from sellers and purchasers on merchandise exported from or imported into the kingdom or from district to district. The Sulka was collected by custom houses known as Sulkam Mandapilas at prominent places. The Sodhadi Rao inscription 1146 A.D. refers to the two custom houses at Mangalapura and Vamanastali.

153. Sukra Vol, IV, pt. 2, pp. 210-211.

154. B. I., pp. 158-159.

श्रीमन्मंगलपुर शुल्कमंडपिका
श्रीवासनस्थल्यो शुल्कमंडपिका

Gifts and fines for offences were other sources of income of the state. Besides these, the state laid claim to mineral products forests and animals. The ¹⁵⁵ Sarnesvara inscription of the Guhilot king, Allata dated 951 A.D. mentions the following taxes for purposes of worship: one dramma on every elephant brought for sale to the market; two Rupakas of silver on every horse; one fortleta of a a dramma on every horned animal; a small pail (of milk) from the shop of confectioners; one bag from gamblers; a pala-fal from every oil mill; a silver Rupaka per mensem on every shop of dressed food; a four stringed garland from every seller of flowers every day.

155. B.I., pp. 66-69.

द्रुमेकं करी दद्यात्तुरगो रूपकद्वयं । द्रुमार्धविंशिकं शृंगी लाटहरे-
तुलाटको ॥११॥ रत्नादशी भुक्तादिने ऽखिलायः कन्दूद्रुतांस्या-दृघटिका-
पणस्य । द्यूतं चराणामपि
टकं स्यादेकैकश स्तेल पलं च घाणे ॥१२॥ रत्ननीनां गते
भासे रूपकोथ चतुःसरं । प्रत्यहं मालिकानां च दानमेत दिह स्फुटं ॥१३॥

COINS

We may make a few observations about the currency of the period. As already shown, silver and copper coins of Gunilla and gold coins of Bappa have been discovered. It would, therefore, not be unreasonable to suppose that the Gunilot kings minted in all the three metals. The gold and silver coins vary in their types and values. One specimen of gold coins of Bappa weighing 115 grains has been discovered.¹⁵⁶ On the top of the obverse of this coin is the legend 'Sri Vappa'; below this to the right is a trident; by its side is a linga and to the right of it is the bull couchant and below the bull the figure of a man lies prostrate on the ground. On the reverse of the coin, there is a folded chamara, a cross enclosed in a circle;

156. N.P.R., Vol.I., pp.241-65.

to the right of this symbol is the handle of a chhatra; below this is the representation of a cow suckling its calf; below the cow are parallel lines ending on the right with a fish. There is also a pot or vase to the right of the cow and four dots are below the parallel lines. This shows the efficiency of minting process of the coin. Two thousand silver coins of Guhila bear beautiful characters 'Gri Guhila' on them. The Karnesvara inscription of Allata mentions two types of coins viz.,¹⁵⁷ Drama and Rupaka. We also learn from the Hasti Nandi inscription of 356 A.D.¹⁵⁸ The prevalence of vimsopaka coins and a record of the Guhilot king, Mulaka mentions¹⁵⁹ a Darshapana coin.¹⁶⁰

Judging from this comprehensive system of coinage and taxation, it would appear the the fiscal administration was fairly developed during the age of the Guhilots.

157. A.S.I., Report IV, p.95.

158. B.I., pp.68-69.

159. E.I., Vol.X, p.17.

160. B.I., p.160.

CHAPTER VIII

GUHILOT ADMINISTRATION

In the previous chapters we have traced the rise and fall, and the successes and failures of the Guhilot dynasty, and now we describe, on the evidence of epigraphic, literary and other sources, what form of administration the Guhilots had and how it functioned during a period of about eight hundred years from C. 550 A.D. to 1364 A.D.

Most of the authorities on administration in ancient India declare that a state (*Rājya*) is constituted by seven elements (*angas*) - *Swāmin* (ruler), *amātya* (minister), *raṣṭra* (the territory of the state and its people), *durga* (forts), *kosa* (accumulated wealth in the ruler's treasury), *danda* (army) and *mitra* (allies)¹.

The Guhilot inscriptions indicate that they had the same

1. For full references see R.E.S., Vol.III., p.17,

(P.V.Kane: History of Dharma Śāstras).

conception of the state, and that their kingdom was administered on this principle. Nripa (ruler)², Amātya (Minister)³, Desha (territory)⁴, Durga (fort)⁵, Shrikarana (treasury)⁶, Vahini (army)⁷ and mitra (allies)⁸ mentioned in the Guhilot records may be regarded as respective synonyms of Sukra's seven constituents

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1. B.I., p. 76 (Kasiājī's Chhatrī Inscription of 1274 A.D.); B.I., p. 72 (Hastā Mātā inscription of Suchivarma).
 2. A.M.A., 1925, p. 2. (Nandesānā inscription of 1222 A.D.); I.A., Vol. XIX, p. 165, No. 26 (Ughanir/yuktisātra of 1227 A.D.)
 3. B.I., p. 112 (Khalīngājī inscription).
 4. A.A., Vol. II., pp. 549-50 (The Śringī Kishī Inscription; Peterson's fifth report, p. 25; L.S. of Śrāvanaprakramana-sutra Churni of 1260 A.D.; A.A., Vol. I., p. 475, f.n. 4. Shri Magnata Durge.
 5. A.M.A., p. 2; A.A., I., p. 470, f.n. 1. (Nandesānā Inscription of 1222 A.D.)
 6. B.I., p. 103 (The Khalīngājī inscription); B.I., p. 72 (Kasiājī's Chhatrī inscription of 1274 A.D.).
 7. B.I., Vol. XII, p. 25. (The Chātsū inscription).
 8. Sukra, Vol. I., pp. 122-124.

of the state.

We can consider Guhilot administration under those seven heads:

(1) THE KING

Sukra declares that 'the king is the head, the ministers are the eyes, all the ears, treasury the mouth, army the mind, capital and rashtra are hands and feet.'¹⁰ The Guhilot inscriptions show that the ideal of Kingship in the Guhilot kingdom was very much the same as found in the ancient literature. In the Guhilot kingdom the king was the head of the state and administration. The Hastamata inscription describing the good qualities of a Guhilot king, Sachivarma says that he was 'foremost of the meritorious and possessed the qualities of firmness,

10. Sukra, Vol.I., pp.122-24.

good assistance, uprightness, good behaviour truthfulness
and noble birth'. Suchivarna in the same record is
praised for 'causing the lotuses, namely good persons to
thrive; dispelling the darkness namely enemies; illuminating
the directions, removing the love of vice like night;
disclosing merits'. Another Guhilot record praises
Samira as 'a great hero, who was brave, who was of
truthful and endearing speech, and who does not lose
patience'. These references show that the king was
regarded as a man of character par excellence in all
respects.

The king was expected to rule the kingdom
according to the laws of the sacred literature, and the
Guhilot inscriptions often mention this fact. The Kasiagi's
Guhilot inscription of 1174 A.D. says that, 'Guhila who
was as glorious as Visnu ruled his territory with justice'.

11. B.I., p.75.

12. B.I., p.75.

13. B.I., p.105, (Ekalingaji Inscription of 1415 A.D.)

14. B.I., p.75.

In the Hastā Mātā inscription the Guhilot king Suchivarman¹⁵ is praised for not 'transgressing his limits' of his rights in the administration of the state. It can hardly be expected that all the Guhilot kings possessed all the good qualities of a king prescribed by the sacred texts. But that kings like Gunila, Bappa, Bhartribhata II, Allata, Vijayasingha, Samantasinha, Jaitrasinha, Tejasinha, Samarasinha and Hammira had qualities of statesmanship, heroism, self confidence and intelligence is evident from their achievements both in the political field and in other respects.

The fate of a dynasty in those days largely depended on the personality of the king, and the reign of a king without the necessary virtues often caused disaster, as happened during the reigns of Shaktikumara and Ratnasinha.

The king was not only the administrative head of the state; he was also the military leader of his

15. B.I., p. 73.

kingdom. The generalship of the king was of great importance. We know that Bhaktikumara's lack of martial spirit brought disaster to the kingdom while Jaitrasimha led his army against the Muslims to win back the territories of the dynasty. Although the king was helped by his ministers and military officers in carrying out operations on the battlefield, the final decision as to tactics and strategy depended primarily on the king. Protection of the state was regarded as the supreme and distinctive obligation of the king. His duty was to undertake military operations to quell internal rebellions and carry out external expeditions of conquest. While discharging martial duties he was accompanied by a Sandhivigrahika¹⁸ (Minister of peace and war) to the battlefield. To maintain peace and order in home territories the king appointed a¹⁷ Talavaksna in-charge of the capital cities, Nagada, Anada and Chitoda and Kottapala¹⁸ was entrusted with the defence of the fort. The Sarnesvara inscription of

16. E.I., p. 86.

17. E.I., Vol. XXII, pp. 285-86.

18. E.I., Vol. XXII, 285-86.

19
951 A.D. states that Durlabharaja discharged the
duties of Sandhivigraha under the Guhilot king
Aliata. We know from the Chitrava inscription of
173 A.D. that Udayaraja and his son Kshema acted
as the Talavaksas of Nagada and Chitoda respectively²⁰
during the reigns of Mahanastika and Jaitrasimha.
The arts of war were so essential part of life during
the age of the Guhilots that even the chief minister
was required to be well-versed in them. In Chitrava
inscription of Samarasimha there is the mention of
Pradama Bhimasimha fighting on the foot of Chitoda
for the cause of Jaitrasimha.^{20a.}

The Guhilots were greatly influenced by
the stories of the Ramayana and Mahabharata, and their
kings were often compared with the famous characters
of the two epics. The Nasirji's Chatri inscription

19. B.I., p. 60.

20. B.I., Vol. XII, pp. 285-86.

20a. H.R., Vol. I, p. 473.

विक्रान्तरत्नं समरेष रत्नः सपत्नसंहर-हृतप्रपन्नः ।

भीमिन्द्रपुरस्य तलाटिकायां भीमसिंहस्य समे समर ॥२६॥

of 1074 A.D. says that the Guhila's prowess reminded
of 'the fight of Bhimasena, the cause of the destruction
of the Kurus'.²¹ The same record mentions that Shiladitya
by his wisdom and valour excelled the mythical kings.
'Pritan and others'.²² and compares the Guhilot king
Mantata with Partha (Arjuna) in destroying Duryodhana
vanini (army of Duryodhana) protected by Dussasana'.²³ It
further adds that Amraprasada was like proud 'Parashurama'
destroying the Kshatriyas'. The attitude of the Guhilot
king towards his subjects was often guided by the rules
of the two epics and a Guhilot king Amraprasada is said
in the Nanapura inscription of 1440 A.D. to have
'imitated Sri Rama, Yudhishtira and other kings 'by his
fame, virtue, protection of his subjects, truthfulness
and other qualities'.²⁴

It was always considered the duty of
Guhilot kings to support Brahmanas, saints and learned

21. B.I., p.79.

22. B.I., p.79.

23. B.I., p.80.

24. B.I., p.116.

people, to hold assemblies of poets and learned men, to make gifts of land to religious and educational institutions, and to advance learning in every way.

The Atapura inscription of 877 A.D. says that

Gunadatta was the delight of the Brahmanas of

Anandapura.²⁵ In the Abu inscription of 1205 A.D.

Bhartribhata I is said to have 'delighted Panaths with presents'.²⁶ The Karnesvara inscription²⁷ of 951 A.D.

records that Allata used to hold assemblies of

Gosthikas (religious men) who were entrusted with the

administration of a temple. In the Kana,ura inscription

Kummanan II is praised as the 'weigher of the weight

in gold of himself with his son and wife'.²⁸ The last

reference refers to the custom of giving gifts to the

Brahmanas of as much gold as equals the weight of the

body (Tuladana). The Partabgarh inscription of 946 A.D.

25. I.A., -Vol. 33, p. 186.

26. B.I., p. 99.

27. B.I., p. 66.

28. B.I., p. 15.

has mentioned that Gunilot King Bhartribhata II made
a perpetual land-grant of a village to the deity of
Indrarajadityadeva of Ghontavarsika²⁹. That the
kings patronised poets and other learned men is
evident from the Gunilot inscriptions. The Barn svara
inscription of 951 A.D. informs us that Balisgadhi-
raja (medical men) Rudraditya, a learned Brahmana
Vasantaraja and the learned sages - Nagarada,
Kavasa, Haraka and Bhuvana adorned the court of Allata.³⁰
The Natta inscription of 971 A.D. states that a learned
poet, Akaravi,³¹ pupil of Srivedanga Muni was the court
poet of Naravahana.

For their patronage of art and architecture
the Gunilot rulers can be ranked among the most famous
of Indian kings. Their greatness is attested by the
magnificent temples and sculptures of Anada, Chitoda and
Nagada. The Mallinagaji temple erected by Bappa near
modern Udaipur, the Kurari³² temple constructed by Allata

29. E.I., Vol. XIV, pp. 176-186 ff.

30. B.I., p. 68.

31. B.I., p. 71.

32. B.I., p. 68.

in 951 A.D. in Anada, a Jain temple of Shyama
³³ Parswanatha constructed by wife of Tejasimha in
³⁴ Chitoda and Achalesvara Mahadeva on Mount Abu
 repaired by Samarasimha are the excellent examples
 of the Architecture of the Guhilot age.

The earlier Guhilot kings are given
³⁵ the simple royal epithets viz., Medinipati, ³⁶ Bhupa,
³⁷ Nripa, ³⁸ Narapati etc. But after their attaining
 considerable power and prestige during the reign of
 Jaitrasimha (C. 1213 A.D. - 1253 A.D.) , they assumed
 in full royal titles. In the Partabgarh inscription

o. I.I., Vol.XXII, pp.265-80; A.H.H., 13.3, p.6.

34. B.I., p.95.

35. B.I., p.68.

36. B.I., p.70.

37. B.I., p.75.

38. B.I., p.76.

of 946 A.D. even an early Guhilot king, Bhartribhata II³⁹
(942 A.D.) is endowed with the title of 'Maharajadhiraja'⁴⁰
or lord of the kings. In his Mandesama inscription of
1022 A.D. Jaitrasimha is given the royal epithet of
Maharajadhiraja. The Sravakaprakramanasutra Churni⁴¹
credits Tejasimha with the full royal titles, viz.,
Maharajadhiraja Paramesvara Paramabhattacharaka'.⁴²

The crown rested upon the hereditary
principle and the eldest son generally succeeded his
father to the throne. When the king died childless, or
abdicated, the younger brother succeeded to the throne.
This happened in the case of Suchivarma⁴³ who succeeded
his elder brother Ambaprasada when the latter was
killed by the Chahamanya ruler Vakapatiraja II in 1010 A.D.
When Samantasimha abdicated, he was succeeded by his
younger brother, Kumarasimha⁴⁴. The powerful vassals
(Samantas) and ministers probably had some influence on

39. E.I., Vol. XIV, pp. 176-186 ff.

40. R.M.R., 1925, p. 3; H.R. II, p. 473 f.n. 3.

41. Peterson's fifth report p. 23, H.R. II, p. 473 f.n. 4.

42. B.I., p. 83.

43. I.A., Vol. LIII, pp. 101-102.

a question of disputed succession. The Abu inscription⁴⁴ of 1285 A.D. indicates that the Samantas of Samantasimha selected his younger brother, Kumarasimha as their king.

Nothing is known about the influence of the queen on administrative affairs of the state, but the Guhilot inscriptions mention that the queens took active part in the benevolent activities. The Kundesvara⁴⁵ inscription of 861 A.D. says that Yosnomati, wife of the Guhilot king Aparajita built a temple of Visnu and the Atapura inscription states that Hariyadevi, the queen⁴⁶ of Allata founded a city, Harsnapura. The Chitoda⁴⁷ inscription of 1276 A.D. informs us that Jayatalladevi, wife of Tejasimha built a Jain temple of Parsnawanatha in Chitoda.

The king had absolute authority on all the affairs of the state, but the Guhilot king was assisted

44. B.I., p.32, 45

45. E.I., Vol.IV, p.30.

46. B.I., p.68.

47. R.M.R., 1923, p.3; Beng. As. Soc. J, Vol.55, pt.I, pp.18 and 48.

by a council of ministers. In the internal matters
he consulted his ⁴⁸Pradhāna (Chief Minister) and ⁴⁹Amātya
(Minister). ⁴⁸Mamata and ⁴⁹Bhīmasena acted as
minister and chief minister of internal affairs during
the reigns of Allata and Jitrasima respectively.
In military and external affairs the king was assisted
by the ⁵⁰Senani (Commander-in-chief) and ⁵¹Sandhivigrahika
(⁵²Minister for peace and war). The ⁵²Sarnesvara inscription
of 651 A.D. mentions ⁵³Varāhasena acting as Senani of
Aparajita and the ⁵³Sarnesvara inscription speaks of
Sandhivigrahika ⁵³Durlabharaja assisting Allata in the
affairs of war and peace.

48. B.I., p.68 (Sarnesvara Inscription of 951 A.D.).

49. E.I., Vol. XXII, pp. 285-88 (Chirawa inscription of 1273 A.D.)

50. E.I., Vol. XIV, pp. 176-186; B.I., p. 155.

51. B.I., p. 68.

52. E.I., Vol. XIV, pp. 176-186.

53. B.I., p. 68.

The spirit of toleration and respect for other religions is striking among the Guhilot kings. They, though themselves worshippers of Śiva and Viṣṇu, patronised Jainism and respected their sages. The Chitoda inscription of 1278 A.D. informs us that Tejasimha favoured the Jain saints and his wife Jayatalladevi built a Jain temple of Parṣvannatha in Chitoda. Both the Pāśupata saint Bhavasankara and the Jain saint, Parṣvachandra were honoured by the Guhilot king Samarasimha who gave munificent endowments for the construction of a monastery for Pradyumnasuri, a Jain saint and repaired a matha (monastery) on Mount Abu at the request of a Pāśupata ascetic, Bhavasankara.

54. Beng. As. Soc. J., Vol. 55, pt. I, p. 48.

55. B.I., p. 35; I.A., Vol. XVI, pp. 345-48.

56. E.I., Vol. XXII, pp. 285-88.

(11) a. THE MINISTERS

In the Guhilot state the ministers forward an integral part of administration and were largely responsible for the welfare of the state. They were generally known as Mahamatyas⁵⁷. The Mandesama inscription of 1222 A.D.⁵⁸ records Mahamatya Dungarasimha as head of the treasury (Srikarana) and Oghaniryuktisutra of 1227 A.D.⁵⁹ says that Mahamatya Jagatasimha acted as minister of seals and commerce (Mudra-Vyapara) during the reign of Jaltrasimha. Sometimes ministers were endowed with the feudatory titles of 'Maharaja'. The Kundesvara inscription of 661 A.D. credits Varanasimha⁶⁰ a minister of Aparajita with the title of 'Maharaja'.

57. R.M.H., 1925, p.2.

58. Ibid., 1925, p.2.

59. I.A., Vol. XIX, p.165, No.66, Appendix p.52.

60. E.I., Vol. XIV, pp.176-186.

The practice of hereditary succession to ministerial posts where the son was of suitable ability was generally followed in the Guhilot state. The Chirawa inscription⁶¹ of Samarasimha informs us that when Pradhana (Chief Minister) Bhimasimha died he was succeeded by his son, Rajasimha to the post of chief minister during the reign of Jaitrasimha.

Ministers were very important and influential members of the Guhilot government. The ministers and high officials were empowered to make land-grants. We are informed by the Chirawa inscription⁶² that a general, Yogaraja built the temple of Yogesvara and granted some land near the lake Kalelaya for its maintenance during the reign of Padmasimha.

The duties entrusted to the Pradhana (chief minister) according to the Guhilot inscriptions agree with the suggestion of Sukra that the chief minister

61. E.I., Vol.XXII, pp.265-86. श्रीभीमसिंहपुत्रः प्राधान्यं प्राप्य राजसिंहाय ।
बहुमेते नेकघ्यं प्राप्नु प्रतिपन्नं दधद्भृदये । २५॥

62. Ibid., Vol.XXII, pp.265-88. H.R., Vol.I, p.473.

must be Sarvadarśi, i.e., the Superintendent of the whole
administration.⁶³ The Pradhāna (chief minister) Bhīmasimha
was required to look after military, administrative and
even religious affairs of the state during the reign of
Jaitrasimha. The Chirawa inscription⁶⁴ infers us that
chief minister Bhīmasimha lost his life fighting against
enemy at the foot of Chitoda for the cause of his lord,
Jaitrasimha.

It is evident from the Guhilot inscriptions
that, besides the Pradhāna (chief minister), there were
other ministers of the state in charge of various
departments. According to Sukra, the Ministry, whose
strength was to be ten, was to consist of Purohita,
Pradhāna, Sachiva, Mantri, Pradvivāka, Pandita, Sumantra,
Amatya and Duta.⁶⁵ In the Guhilot records the offices of

63. Sukra, Vol. II, pp. 168-173.

64. E.I., Vol. XXII, pp. 285-86.

65. Sukra, Vol. II, pp. 141-143.

⁶⁶ Pandita, ⁶⁷ Pradhana, ⁶⁸ Amatya are mentioned. Sukra,⁶⁹
defines Sumantra as the minister of the treasury .

So the Amatya (minister) of the Srikarana (treasury)
may be regarded as a synonym of Sukra's Sumantra.

Dr. P.V.Rane's view that the words Mantri, Sachiva and⁷⁰
Amatya are usually interchangeable, though sometimes
distinguished, seems applicable to the Guhilot
administration. The title of 'Mahamatya' is frequently
used for the ministers in the Guhilot records.

- - -⁷¹
The Nandesama inscription of 1222 A.D.
credits Dungarasima, the minister of Srikarana (treasury)
with the title of Mahamatya of Jaltrasima and the
Bravaka, prakramansutra speaks of samudra, a minister of
seals and commerce during the reign of Tejasima bearing
the same title of 'Mahamatya'.⁷²

66. B.I., p. 68.

67. B.I., Vol. XXII, pp. 265-88.

68. I.A., Vol. XIX, p. 165, No. 86; B.I., p. 68; H.R., Vol. I, p. 473, f.n. 4; Peterson's fifth Report, p. 23.

69. Sukra, Vol. II, pp. 166-173.

70. History of Dharmashastras, Vol. III, p. 104.

71. R.M.R., 1925, p. 2, H.R., Vol. I, p. 470, f.n. 3.

72. Peterson's fifth Report, p. 23; H.R., Vol. I, p. 473, f.n. 4.

श्रीतेजसिंहदेव कृष्णराज विजयराज्ये तत्पादपक्षोपजीविति महामात्य श्रीसमुद्रे
मुद्राव्यापारान् परिपंथयति श्रीमदाचार्यवास्तववं रामचंद्रशिखेरा कमलचंदेरा
पुस्तिका व्यालेखि ।

Treasury is called Srikarana in the Guhilot records. It was administered by a minister (Mahamatya). The Nandesama inscription of 1222 A.D. mentions Mahamatya 'Dungarasimha' ⁷³ acting as minister of the Srikarana department during the reign of Jaitrasimha.

Sakra calls the revenue officer Amatya who had an accurate account of state revenue and taxes. The Guhilot records mention that Mahamatya Jagatasimha ⁷⁴ and Mahamatya Samudra ⁷⁵ were entrusted with the department of seals and commerce during the reigns of Jaitrasimha and Tejasimha respectively.

73. R.M.R., 1925, p.2; H.R., Vol.II, p.470, f.n.3.

74. H.R., Vol.II, p.471, f.n.1; I.A., Vol.XIX, p.135, No.88; Peterson's third Report 1884-85 Appendix p.52 (Ognaniryuktisutra of 1227 A.D.).

75. H.R., Vol.II, p.473, f.n.4; Peterson's fifth Report, p.23 (Sravakapramanasutra Churni of 1580 A.D.).

Another important minister of the Guhilot state was the Sandhivigrahita (the minister for peace and war). Sandhivigrahita Durlabharaja⁷⁶ is referred to in the Sarnesvara inscription of 951 A.D. as the minister for peace and war during the reign of Allata. According to Sukra, the foreign minister was to be well-versed in the fourfold policy of Sama (conciliation), dāma (appeasement), danda (war), and Bheda (causing dissension in the enemy's camp).⁷⁷ It is difficult to ascertain how much authority the minister could exercise in the affairs of peace and war.

b. OTHER OFFICERS OF THE STATE

(1) AKS LAPATALA (ACCOUNT OFFICE OR RECORD OFFICE)

The Sarnesvara inscription of 951 A.D. records the appointment of Mayura and Samudra to the posts of

76. B.I., p. 68.

77. Sukra, Vol. II, pp. 191-193; S.G.A.I., p. 133.

Akshapata by the Gunilot King Allata⁷⁸ and the
Devakulika inscription⁷⁹ informs us that Gripeṭi was
incumbent of this office (Akshapata) during the
reign of Naravahana.

(2) BALAGADHARAJA OR THE STATE PHYSICIAN

There was probably more than one physician
as appears from the Karnesvara inscription⁸⁰ of 351 A.D.
which mentions Rudramitya acting as the chief of medical
men (Balagadharaja) during the reign of Allata.

(3) PRATIHARA OR THE CHAMBERLAIN

The duty of a Pratihara was to present
visitors or guests to the king. As the Pratihara was

⁷⁸ B.I., p. 60.

⁷⁹ A.S.I., v. C., 1900, p. 67; A.N., Vol. I, p. 400, f. n. 2.

⁸⁰ B.I., p. 60.

very near the king's person and was often present on important occasions, his post was a prominent one. The access to the royal court was regulated by him and his staff. The Sarnesvara inscription of 951 A.D. records Yashanpushpa acting as the Pratinara in the court of Allata.⁸¹

(4) SENANĪ OR THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF

The Sarnesvara inscription of 951 A.D. refers to Varanasiha acting as Senanī (commander-in-chief) of the army of Aparajita⁸². The Ekalingaji inscription of 1429 A.D. informs us that the commander of the Guhilot forces (Vahini)⁸³ was known as Senanī whose duty was to help the king incampaigns against the enemies.

81. B.I., p. 68.

82. E.I., Vol. XIV, pp. 176-186.

83. B.I., p. 103.

(5) VANDIPATI OR THE SUPERINTENDENT OF JAILS

The Sarnesvara inscription records that Naga was incumbent of the post of Vandipati during the reign of Allata.⁸⁴ The Vandipati was entrusted with the department of prisons.

(6) KAYASTHA: I.E., THE SCRIBE

He was apparently the writer of the records or legal documents. Pala and Vellaka were two scribes in the court of Allata who wrote his famous charter of Sarnesvara in 951 A.D.⁸⁵

(7) TALARAKSHA OR OFFICER IN CHARGE OF A CAPITAL CITY

The duty of a Talaraksha was to maintain peace

84. B.I., p. 68.

85. B.I., p. 68.

and order in the city. The Chirawa inscription says that the Talaraksma was required to protect 'the good and punish the wicked'⁸⁶ and refers to Uddharana and his son Kshema acting as the Talaraksmas of Nagada and Chitoda respectively during the reigns of Mahanasiha and Jaitrasimha⁸⁷. The same inscription also indicates that succession to the post of the Talaraksma was usually hereditary.

(C) KOTTAPALA OR ADMINISTRATOR OF A FORT

The Chirawa inscription informs us that several Kattapalas were entrusted with the administration and defence of the forts.

86. E.I., Vol. XXII, pp. 265-66.

87. E.I., Vol. XXII, pp. 265-66.

C. NON-OFFICIALS ATTENDING THE ROYAL COURT

(1) DVIJA OR PUROHITA, I.E., CHAPLAIN

The chaplain ministered to the spiritual needs of the king. He received gifts, landgrants and attended the court regularly. The Sarnasvara inscription makes mention of Vasantaraja acting as chaplain during
88
the reign of Allata.

(11) PANDITAS OR LEARNED BRAHMANAS

Panditas are mentioned in the Gurilot inscriptions as the donees, and the term did not indicate a ministerial post. Learned Brahmanas were apparently given this title and were patronised king. The Panditas and Purohitas must have ~~had~~ influence on their administrative affairs relating to religious and

similar functions. The ^{- -}Abu inscription of 1285 A.D. informs that Bhartribhata⁸⁹I delighted some Panditas with presents.

(iii) REPRESENTATIVES OF DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS SECTS

The Chirawa^{- -} inscription refers to Shivarasi, head of the Pasupata sect and Ratnaprabhasuri, head of the Jain⁻ acharyas representing their sects in the court of Tejasimha.⁹⁰

(iv) PRESIDENT OF MERCHANTS

The ⁻Barnesvara inscription of 951 A.D. records Devaraja, head of the merchants representing them in the court of Allata.⁹¹

(v) GOSTHIKAS OR THE GUARDIANS OF TEMPLE

From the Barnesvara inscription we know

89. B.I., p.89.

90. E.I., Vol. XXII, pp. 203-04.

91. B.I., p.88

that the Costhikas - Gopa, Prabhāsa, Mañidhara and others were appointed by Allata to look after the temple of Murari.⁹²

(vi) KAVI OR POETS

The composers of the Guhilot inscriptions are often referred to as Kavi or poets. The Natna inscription of 971 A.D refers to Azra Kavi acting as the court poet of king Naravahana.⁹³ Two inscriptions (Rusijaji's Ganatri of 1274 A.D.⁹⁴ and Abu of 1285 A.D.⁹⁵) of Samarasiana were composed by his court poet Vedasharma. The poets earned their livelihood by drafting the inscriptions of the kings and composing their prasastis (Panegyrics).

(vii) CHIEF ARTISAN

Delhana is referred to in the Chirāwa

92. B.I., p. 66.

93. B.I., p. 71.

94. B.I., p. 84.

95. B.I., p. 95.

inscription acting as the chief of the artisans in
the court of Samarasimha.⁹⁶ He was entrusted with
the department of arts and crafts of the state

(viii) SUTRADHARA OR ENGRAVER OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

The Sarnesvara inscription of 951 A.D. refers
to a Sutradhara named Agrata who engraved the panegyric
(prasasti) of Allata in 951 A.D.⁹⁷ and the Abu inscription
of 1285 A.D. mentions one Harnasimha acting as the
Sutradhara during the reign of Samarasimha.⁹⁸ Bhaila, a
Sutradhara of the time of Baladitya is praised in the
Chatsu inscription for his art of engraving.⁹⁹

(ix) RISHIS OR SAGES

The Sarnesvara inscription mentions some sages
viz., Parmata, Guhisa, and Garga, who were patronised by

96. E.I., Vol. XXII, pp. 285-88.

97. B.I., p. 86.

98. B.I., p. 87.

99. E.I., Vol. XII, 1913-14, p. 10.

100 Allata . The Chirawa inscription 101 informs us that a Jain sage Ratnaprabhasuri lived in the court of Tejasinna who was renowned for his learning and the Jain sages Pradyumnasuri and Acharya Parswanandradev along with a Pashupata sage Bhavashankara adorned the court of Samarasimha.

(111) TERRITORY OF THE STATE

In the Guhilot inscriptions the terms Janapada and Desha are often used to denote the whole state. The Rastaji's Chhatra inscription of 1274 A.D. calls the whole state a Janapada while a later record, the Lkalingaji inscription mentions it as 'Desha'. According to Amarakosha, the word Desha,

100. B.I., p. 68.

101. E.I., Vol. XXII, pp. 225-26.

102. B.I., p. 74. *બોમ શ્રી મુકુટ દેવ પ્રતિષ્ઠાસ્થીતો જાત્યંગના સૌંદર્યે નિકેતનં
જગપદઃ શ્રી મેદવાદા મિથઃ ।*

103. B.I., p. 112

શ્રી મેદવાદેશે શ્રી દેવકુલવાટકપુરવરે . . .

Janapada and ¹⁰⁴ *raṣṭra* are synonymous. The whole *Desa* or state was further divided into the following units of administration.

(1) *MAṆḌALA* I.E., DIVISION

The *Chatsu* ¹⁰⁵ *Maṇḍala* and the *Chandapalli-*
¹⁰⁶ *maṇḍala* are mentioned in the *Chatsu* and *Ajantari*
inscriptions respectively.

(2) *CHORĀSIS* (GROUP OF 84 VILLAGES)

The *Maṇḍala* was further sub-divided into *Chorasis*, each of which consisted of a group of eighty-four villages. The *Matnapura* inscription of 1174 A.D. refers to some *Chorāsis*.¹⁰⁷

104. A.D.S., Vol.III., p.100.

105. E.I., Vol.XII, 1913-14, p.10.

106. A.S.I., A.C., 1910-11, p.33; E.I., Vol.XX, p.43, No.324;

A.S.I. Report - 1920-21, p.34.

107. S.I., p.205.

(3) PATAKA OR STHALI

A Pataka was still a smaller territorial division also known as Pata or Stthali. Sri Devakulapataka and Vamanastthali are mentioned in the Akalingaji inscription¹⁰⁸ and Sodhadi Vao inscription¹⁰⁹ of 1146 A.D. respectively.

(4) CHOVISI OR A GROUP OF 24 VILLAGES

A Chovisi was a group of twenty-four villages. Sarangaji and Shauji of the Saurashtra branch of the Guhilots are referred to in an inscription as the administrators of the Chovisi of Artula and Mandavi¹¹⁰ respectively in the last quarter of the 12th century A.D.

108. B.I., p. 112.

109. B.I., p. 159.

110. I.A., Vol. III, p. 133; B.G., (Kathiavadi Gujarat) p. 263.

(5) TAPA (GROUP OF 8 to 12 VILLAGES)

A tapa was another territorial division comprising usually eight to twelve villages. Sarangaji, a king of the Saurashtra branch of the Guhilots is said to have made a grant of a 'tapa'¹¹¹ of Valukada along with twelve villages to his kinsmen. He also gave a tapa of Trapaja to his relatives of Garidhar.

(6) NAGARA OR CITY

A big town was called Nagara. There is a reference of the foundation of a Nagara on the top¹¹² of the fine Chitrakuta in the Skalingaji inscription of 1489 A.D.

111. D.G., Chapt. XIII, p. 255+ f.n.1.

112. D.I., p. 116.

(7) PURA OR GRAMA (VILLAGE)

The terms Pura or Grama are often found in the Cunniet records to mean a village. The Barnesvara inscription of 851 A.D.¹¹³ refers to the foundation of a Pura called Narsampura by Maryadevi, wife of Ailata and a Visana vell grama is mentioned in the Sodnadi Vao inscription of 1146 A.D.¹¹⁴ There were some ordinary villages scattered throughout the whole kingdom. But some very important Puras, though few in number were usually towns or military garrisons e.g.,
- - -¹¹⁵
Aghatapura, Nagadranapura, Kengaiapura etc.

Thus, on the evidence of the inscriptions, the territorial divisions of the Cunniet kingdom can be defined as follows: The state as a whole was known as 'Medapātadesna', and was sub-divided into some

113. B.I., p. 66.

114. B.I., p. 159.

115. B.I., p. 158.

divisions called Mandalas. These were in turn subdivided into Chovisi which comprised eighty-four villages. The terms Chovisi, and 'tapa' were used to mean the units of twenty-four villages and eight to twelve villages respectively. The word Pataka is not known from other inscriptions, but possible meant a group of twelve villages.

The Sunlit inscriptions indicate that Mandalas were in charge of either a royal prince or vassals (Samantas) of the king. In the Ajanari inscription of 1107 A.D., prince Rajakula Kanasidava¹¹⁶ is referred to as 'Mahamandalesvara' of Chandapalli. The Delavada (Adu) stone inscription of 1100 A.D. mentions two grades of governor, i.e., Mandalesvara and Mahamandalesvara, and indicates that the provincial¹¹⁷ governors had their own courts and seals. Each

116. A.D. 1., A.C., 1910-11, p. 5; A.I., Vol. XX, appendix, p. 49, No. 394. also F.N. 1.

117. B.I., p. 221.

Mandalesvara had large military forces under him and was entrusted with the internal administration of the Mandala. In times of war with the neighbouring kingdoms his forces were requisitioned by the central government. We have seen how Mandalesvara rulers of Sisoda lost their lives fighting against the Muslims when Alau-d-din asserted his influence in Caitoda in 1303 A.D. ✓

Very little is known about the heads of other territorial sub-divisions. Most probably the Chorasi, Chovisi, Patana and tapas were under the charge of vassals or Samantas of the king. We find that the Chovisis of Arthila and Mandavi were administered by smaller feudatory rulers Sarangaji and Shanaji of Mangrol in 1325 A.D. Sometimes a member of the royal family was placed in charge of

118. B.G., Chapt. XIII, p. 283.

a village. We know that Rahapa, the son of Nanasima, was in charge of a village Sisoda, and that he was endowed with the title of Hana.

TOWN ADMINISTRATION

The three principalities - Nagada, Chitoda and Anada, of the Guhilot kingdom were administered by the Talaraksnas who were appointed by the kings in recognition of their distinguished military services. We have seen how Uddharana who was able to 'protect the good and punish the wicked' was made the Talaraksna of Nagadranapura (Nagada) by king Matnanasima. The post of Talaraksna was usually hereditary. Appointments

119. E.I., Vol. XXII, pp. 285-88.

120. Ibid., Vol. XXII, pp. 285-88.

जातस्यंरुडज्ञाते पूर्वमुदुराभिधः ।

पुमानुमाप्रियो पास्ति संपन्न शुभर्वैभवः ॥ १॥

ये दुष्टशिष्ट शिक्षरा रक्षरा दक्षत्वतस्तलारक्षं ।

भ्रीमथतसिंहनृपतिश्चमार नगद्रु दुंगे ॥ १० ॥

M.R., Vol. I, p. 459 l. 2.

were reserved for the royal favourites. The Chirawa inscription informs us that 'through the favour of Samarasimha, Madana succeeded his father in the post of Talaraksna of Chitoda'.¹²¹ The remuneration of the Talaraksnas was sometimes given by rent-free lands and sometimes by salaries, paid partly in cash and partly in kind. The Chirawa inscription refers to a village Chirakupta given by Padmasimha in gift to Yogaraja, the Talaraksna of Nagada.¹²² The Talaraksnas were allowed to make land-grants and erect temples within their jurisdiction. We are informed in the Chirawa inscription that Madana, the talaraksna of Chitoda granted some land near the lake Kalelaya for the maintenance of the temples of Yogesvara and Yogesvari which were erected by Yogaraja, a Talaraksna of Nagada during the reign of Padmasimha.¹²³

121. E.I., Vol. XXII, pp. 265-66.

122. Ibid., Vol. XXII, pp. 265-66.

123. E.I., Vol. XXII, pp. 265-66.

(1v) THE DUNGAS OR PORTS

Forts constituted one of the most important elements of the Guhilot state. The importance of the
124 125 126 127
forts of Chitoda, Anada, Arthana, Kottadaka,
128 129
Kelavata, Edur and other places in the Guhilot
kingdom is clearly evident from its political history.
The forts provided security for the state and its
people and made access to the heart of the kingdom very
difficult. They also acted as strategic military
stations and helped in defending the country. The

124. E.I., Vol.XXII, p.285.

125. I.A., Vol.LIX, p.163.

126. E.I., Vol.XXII, p.285.

127. E.I., XXII, 285.

128. B.I., p.125.

129. B.I., p.119.

forts were used for the purposes of stores of arms - 130
and army, and were under the supervision of Kottapalas
directly appointed by the king.

(v) THE VĀHINI OR ARMY

The Guhilot army consisted of infantry,
cavalry, elephants and chariots. The Ekalingaji
inscription of 1489 A.D. says that 'Hamaira's forces
appeared active on account of the numerous horses',
----- with large elephants and having a necklace of
jewel of the numerous bravemen.¹³¹ The Chatsu
inscription mentions that Guhilalli 'with excellent horses
from the seacoast, vanquished the Gauda king'¹³² and the
Rajaprasasti Mahakavya records that Kanapa was 'an
eminent breeder of horses'.¹³³ These references show that

130. E.I., Vol. XXII, pp. 285-88.

131. B.I., p. 119.

132. E.I., Vol. XII, 1913-14, p. 10.

133. B.I., p. 154.

the Guhilot army was equipped with the best cavalry. The Guhilot inscriptions mention the use of chariots (Ratnas) in the battle field. The Abu inscription of 1285 A.D. records that 'Naravahana carried away the chariots and horses of kings in battles'. The Ekalingaji inscription of 1489 A.D. also refers to the use of the chariots.

Elephants (Gajas) and horses (tur-gas) played a dominant part in war. Bows (Dhanurdanda), arrows (Vishiknas), swords (Karawalas) and daggers (Aripana) were the principal arms of the army (Vanini).

134. B.I., p. 31.

135. B.I., p. 125.

136. B.I., p. 85.

137. B.I., p. 79.

138. B.I., p. 90. (Sword).

139. B.I., p. 98; I.A., Vol. XVI, p. 345-48. (Dagger)

The Ekalingaji inscription of 1423 A.D. informs us
that the head of the army was the Senani ¹⁴⁰ who was
assisted by the ministers and other officers of the
state. The Deva Kulika inscription says that Gundala
and Mattata, two sons of Akshapatalika Sripati were
'the two arms of Daktikumara' ¹⁴¹. A chief minister
(Pradhana) is praised in the Chirawa inscription of
1273 A.D. for having lost his life in defence of
Chitoda and a mighty general Madana, talaraksha
of Chitoda is reported to have fought for the cause
of Jaitrasimha. ¹⁴² It is thus evident that the military
department was not clearly separated from civil
administration, and officers like the chief minister
and talarakshas of the cities were 'required to lead
the army in the battlefield.'

140. B.I., p. 97.

141. A.S.I., R.C., 1906, p. 63, H.N., Vol. 12, p. 434 and 437.

142. E.I., Vol. XXII, pp. 265-88 (Chirawa inscription of 1273 A.D.)

(v1) TREASURY (BRINARANA)

The Guhilot records do not give much information about the functions of the administrator of the state treasury. The Nandesana inscription of 1222 A.D. records that Lungarasimha was appointed to administer the state treasury by Jaitrasimha.¹⁴³

(v11) THE ALLIES (MITRA)

The seventh or the last constituent part of the state was Mitra, i.e., friendly rulers of other kingdoms. In the early medieval times the chief ambition

143. R.M.R., 1925, p.2; H.H., Vol. I, p.470, f.n.3.

ओं संवत् १२७४ वर्ष वैशाख सुदि १३ सु (शु) के अष्टौ श्रीनाथदेहे
महाराजाधिराज श्रीजयतसिंहदेव कल्याणविजयराज्ये तन्नि [युक्त] श्रीश्रीकरो
महं [हुं] गरसीह प्रतिपत्तो - - -

of all the dynasties was to 'become the paramount power at the expense of other kings. No king could rely on the friendship of another. We have seen that Shaktikumara was protected by the Rashtrakuta Dnavala of Husti Kundi, when the former was defeated by the Paramara king Munjaraja¹⁴⁴ Vijayasinha entered into an alliance with the Paramaras¹⁴⁵ and Kalachuris¹⁴⁶. The object of this alliance was to check the rising power of the Chaulukya ruler Jayasinhāsiddharāja (1094 A.D. - 1144 A.D.). The Chaulukya ruler of Gujarāta, Bhimadeva II (1178 A.D. - 1242 A.D.) was on friendly terms with Kumarasinha. But this relation was due to fear from Mohammed Ghorī's invasions over Gujarāta.

144. E.I., Vol. X, p. 17.

145. E.I., Vol. II, p. 12; H.I., Vol. I, p. 444.

146. E.I., Vol. II, p. 12.

in 1170 A.D. Immediately after Bhimadevalli's death in 1242 A.D. the Chaulukya King Nanaka Tribhuvanapala¹⁴⁷ invaded the Guhilot kingdom and captured Kottadaka.

Thus we have hardly any evidence of lasting friendly relations between the Guhilots and any other dynasties.

B. WORKS OF PUBLIC UTILITY

That works of public utility were extensively carried out in the Guhilot~~at~~ kingdom is known from inscriptions of the dynasty. In the Sarnesvara inscription

147. E.I., Vol.XXII, pp.455-58; H.A., Vol.II, p.461; I.A., Vol.XI, pp.206-10.

of 951 A.D. Allata is praised for building a temple of¹⁴⁸
Murari and for appointing a medical officer, mudraditya
to look after the health of the people. King Naravahanana
is recorded to have erected a temple on the top of the¹⁴⁹
mountain of Asvatthama which served as a hilly resort in
summer days. Hammira made a gift of Simhavallipura for¹⁵⁰
the worship of Shankara. The Ekalingaji inscription of
1429 A.D. informs us that Hammira built 'a temple where
the gods reside and also caused to be dug a lake as large²⁵¹
as a sea surrounded by gardens of mango trees'. The Abu
inscription records that Samarasimha got a monastery
(Matna) repaired and 'gladly made by means of money good¹⁵²
provision for feeding the monks'.

148. B.I., p.88.

149. B.I., p.71.

150. B.I., p.125.

151. B.I., p.103.

152. B.I., p.95.

C. FISCAL ADMINISTRATION

In now turning from government to economics we may set forth the evidence regarding the principal sources of revenue on which 'depended the stability and strength of the state'. It is evident from the unilol records that land revenues and Sulka taxes were the chief sources of income. Sulka usually means the tolls on custom duties levied from sellers and purchasers on merchandise exported from or imported into the kingdom or from district to district. The Sulka was collected by custom houses known as Sulkam Mandapilas at prominent places. The Sodhadi Vao inscription 1146 A.D. refers to the two custom houses at Mangalapura and Vamanastali.

153. Sukra Vol, IV, pt. 2, pp. 210-211.

154. B. I., pp. 158-159.

श्रीमन्मंगलपुर शुल्कमंडपिका
श्रीवासनस्थल्यो शुल्कमंडपिका

Gifts and fines for offences were other sources of income of the state. Besides these, the state laid claim to mineral products forests and animals. The ¹⁵⁵ Sarnesvara inscription of the Guhilot King, Allata dated 951 A.D. mentions the following taxes for purposes of worship: one dramma on every elephant brought for sale to the market; two Rupakas of silver on every horse; one fortileta of a a dramma on every horned animal; a small pail (of milk) from the shop of confectioners; one bag from gamblers; a pala-fal from every oil mill; a silver Rupaka per mensem on every shop of dressed food; a four stringed garland from every seller of flowers every day.

155. B.I., pp. 66-69.

द्रुमेकं करी दद्यात्तुरगो रूपकद्वयं । द्रुमार्धविंशिकं शृंगी लाटहरे-
तुलाटको ॥११॥ रत्नादशी भुक्तादिने ऽखिलायः कन्दूद्रुतांस्या-दृष्टिका-
पणस्य । द्यूतं चराणामपि
टकं स्यादेकैकश स्तेल पलं च घाणे ॥१२॥ रत्ननीनां गते
भासे रूपकोध चतुःसरं । प्रत्यहं मालिकानां च दानमेत दिह स्फुटं ॥१३॥

COINS

We may make a few observations about the currency of the period. As already shown, silver and copper coins of Gunilla and gold coins of Bappa have been discovered. It would, therefore, not be unreasonable to suppose that the Gunilot kings minted in all the three metals. The gold and silver coins vary in their types and values. One specimen of gold coins of Bappa weighing 115 grains has been discovered.¹⁵⁶ On the top of the obverse of this coin is the legend 'Sri Vappa'; below this to the right is a trident; by its side is a linga and to the right of it is the bull couchant and below the bull the figure of a man lies prostrate on the ground. On the reverse of the coin, there is a folded chamara, a cross enclosed in a circle;

156. N.P.R., Vol.I., pp.241-65.

to the right of this symbol is the handle of a chhatra; below this is the representation of a cow suckling its calf; below the cow are parallel lines ending on the right with a fish. There is also a pot or vase to the right of the cow and four dots are below the parallel lines. This shows the efficiency of minting process of the coin. Two thousand silver coins of Guhila bear beautiful characters 'Gri Guhila' on them. The Karnesvara inscription of Allata mentions two types of coins viz.,¹⁵⁷ Drama and Rupaka. We also learn from the Hasti Nundi inscription of 356 A.D.¹⁵⁸ The prevalence of vimsopaka coins and a record of the Guhilot king, Mulaka mentions¹⁵⁹ a Darshapana coin.¹⁶⁰

Judging from this comprehensive system of coinage and taxation, it would appear the the fiscal administration was fairly developed during the age of the Guhilots.

157. A.S.I., Report IV, p.95.

158. B.I., pp.68-69.

159. E.I., Vol.X, p.17.

160. B.I., p.160.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

A - GEOGRAPHICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE GUHILOT KINGDOM

The Guhilot dynasty arose in the middle of the sixth century A.D. and survived as an independent royal family for more than eight hundred years in the southern Rajputana (Medapata). In assessing the importance of the Guhilots in relation to the history of India in general and to the history of Rajputana in particular we must first consider the geographical importance of the region over which they ruled.

Southern Rajputana most commonly described as Medapata in the Guhilot inscriptions and literature is practically a plateau of the Aravallis. The uneven earth-crust of this region is caused by the gradual decomposition of the rocks and contains a higher percentage of sands and

gravels. The hills and forests excited high degree of daring and courage in the Guhilots and transformed them into a warlike people struggling hard between life and death, ever prepared to meet their end smiling with almost no hesitation. The history of the Guhilot dynasty stubbornly affirms that so long as the Guhilots lived upto their ideals they were never pressed hard by their enemies nor were they subdued by the victor in humiliation in the fields of battle but on the contrary they have constantly defied the storms of the foreign incursions with a spirit of constancy and endurance to which the history of the world hardly affords any parallel.

The position of the Guhilots was further strengthened by the possession of the important and almost inaccessible forts of Chitoda, Ahada, Kelavada,

1. D.I.,p.124.

2. I.A.,Vol.39,p.186.

3. B.I.,p.125.

and Arthuna⁴. The importance of these forts to the Guhilot kingdom is clearly evident from the history of the dynasty.

In spite of all its advantages, the geographical position of the Guhilot kingdom had, however, a great disadvantage. It was very difficult for the ruler of such a region to administer the whole kingdom from one capital, owing to problems of communication, and the security of the kingdom depended almost entirely on the forts of Chitoda and Ahada which were raised as the secondary centres of administration. Moreover, the hilly tribes of the region⁵ often caused trouble in the kingdom and the reference to the subjugation of the Sabaras and Bhilae in a Guhilot inscription indicates a lack of strong local administration in

4. E.I., Vol.XXII, p.265.

5. B.I., p.62. (Rasiājī's Canatri Inscription of 1274 A.D.)

outlying districts. The resounding success of the Paramaras in the south-east during the reign of Munjaraja in 996 A.D. and the success of Kirtipala Chahamanas of Naddula in 1179 A.D. in the north-west can partially be attributed to the failure of the Guhilots to build up a strong defence on their frontiers.

B - POLITICAL: ROLE OF THE GUHILOTS IN POLITICAL HISTORY

By the middle of the sixth century A.D. the Gupta empire was crumbling and the Guptas could not play any further important part in northern India. The Hunas who under the leadership of Toramana overwhelmed the western and central parts of India in the beginning of the sixth century A.D., were completely suppressed by Janendra Yashodharmana of Malava in 532 A.D.⁶ This

6. C.I.I., Vol.III, No.33, pp.146, 148.

afforded golden opportunities to a large number of dynasties like the Maitrakas of Valabhi, Mauryas, of Kanauj, Chahamanas of Shakambhari, Chaulukyas of Gujarat and Guhilots of Medapata who reaped a rich harvest out of the prevailing confusion and suddenly leaped from obscurity to political importance. The Guhilot ruler, Guhila made best use of the situation and built a strong kingdom in the Southern Rajputana. After the conquest of the great fort of Chitoda by Bappa in the beginning of the eighth century A.D., the Guhilot kingdom saw its palmy days

The decline of the Pratiharas during the reign of Mahendrapala II paved the way for the

7. E.I., Vol. XIV, pp. 176-186 ff. (The Partabgarh Inscription of Mahendrapala II dated 948 A.D.).

expansion of the Guhilot kingdom in the north-east and the Guhilot king Bhairtribhata II (942 A.D.-951 A.D.)⁸ extended his sway upto Ghontavarsika which was situated on the south-western frontiers of the Pratihara empire. This brought the Pratiharas in conflict with the Guhilot ruler Allata (951 A.D.-971 A.D.),⁹ who inscription claims victories over the former.

Among the princes of the various dynasties that were (struggling to capture the sceptre of the effete Pratihara princes¹⁰ the Guhilot ruler, Bhaktikumara (977 A.D. - 996 A.D.) played no minor part in the struggle. There is no doubt that Bhaktikumara inherited a position which had been strongly founded by Bhairtribhata II (942 A.D. - 951 A.D.) and Allata (951 A.D. - 971 A.D.) .

8. E.A., Vol. XIV, pp. 176-186 ff.

9. H.A., Vol. I, p. 428.

10. D.H.M.I., Vol. II, p. 1212.

But before the Guhilots could firmly establish themselves as the strong power in northern India, they had to contest with the Paramaras of Malava who under the leadership of Munjaraja inflicted a crushing defeat over the former. In 995 A.D. Munjaraja succeeded in his attempts and his nephew Bhoja (1010 A.D. - 1055 A.D.) wielded considerable influence over the Guhilot Kingdom.¹¹ The failure of Shaktikumara was very unfortunate. It afforded splendid opportunity to the Shakambhari Chahamanra ruler, Vakapatirajall who taking advantage of the situation killed the Guhilot king, Ambaprasada, the son and successor of Shaktikumara. Thus the Guhilot prestige received

11. E.I., Vol. XXII, p. 288.

a severe set back and the Guhilots were confronted by two powerful enemies - the Chahamanas and Paramaras in the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. During the eleventh century A.D. the Guhilots not only lost the initiative in the struggle for supremacy, but also virtually lost their independence to the Paramaras, who were then the dominant power in western India. The accession of Vijayasimha in 1108 A.D. to the Guhilot throne was marked by a revival of the Guhilot power and the decline of the Paramaras. Vijayasimha revived the social prestige of the Guhilots by forming matrimonial relations with the houses of the Paramaras¹² and Kalachuris¹³. These alliances between the Paramaras, Kalachuris and Guhilots stood as a stumbling block against the

12. E.I., Vol.II, p.12; H.N., Vol.I, p.444.

13. H.N., Vol.I, p.444; E.I., Vol.II, p.12.

Chaulukyas who under strong rule of Jayasimhasiddharaja (1094 A.D. - 1144 A.D.) emerged as the strongest power in western India. Vijayasinha could not establish the Guhilots as the supreme power in western India though he provided an opportunity for his successors to consolidate their position.

The reign of Samantasinha (1171 A.D. - 1178 A.D.) once again revived Guhilot hopes of gaining supremacy over other dynasties and establishing their power in western India. Samantasinha tried to extend the Guhilot kingdom in all directions. The consequence of such an expansion was obvious, Samantasinha came in conflict with the Chaulukyas¹⁴ of Gujarat and Paramaras of Abu.¹⁵

14. I.A., Vol.LIII, p.101.

15. E.I., Vol.VIII, p.211; B.I., p.108.

No doubt Samantasimha succeeded in defeating the confederate forces of the Chaulukyas and Paramaras in 1174 A.D., but his victory over Ajayapala, the Chaulukya ruler was not fully crowned with success. The Chaulukyas spared no energy to avenge their defeat at the hands of Samantasimha and summoned Kirtipala, the Chahamanra ruler of Naddula against the Guhilots. Kirtipala wasted no time in attacking the Guhilot kingdom. Samantasimha was also not unprepared, but his ambition received a severe setback, when Kirtipala inflicted a crushing defeat over the Guhilots in 1178 A.D.

By The year 1178 A.D. was marked by the renewal of Muslim invasion under Monammad Ghori over Gujarat. This alarming situation compelled the Chaulukya ruler Bhimadeva¹⁷ to unite himself with Guhilot bonds of friendship. A united effort of the Guhilots and Chaulukyas at once succeeded in casting the Chahamanas from the Guhilot kingdom. The Guhilots made the best use of the situation and soon revived the glory of their dynasty.

During the reign of Kumarasimha's grandson, Padmasimha, the Guhilots gathered considerable force and built up a strong military power. Padmasimha was succeeded by his son Jaitrasimha, (1215 A.D. - 1258 A.D.) who was

17. The Glory that was Gurjaradesa, Vol.III, p.184.

undoubtedly the most powerful prince of his time. Jaitrasimha realised that a fight with the Muslims was inevitable for extending his kingdom on the north-western side. In 1226 A.D. he drove back the forces of Anavas Khan¹⁸ a general of Jalaluddin, Shah of Khwarizm who sought to penetrate into western India through the Guhilot territories. During the long reign of Jaitrasimha (1215 A.D.- 1255 A.D.) the Guhilots successfully resisted the Muslim attacks at a time when they seemed irresistible. In 1233 A.D. he succeeded in repulsing the invasions of Iltutmish, the Sultan of Delhi. The successful attempt, to stop the Muslim raids over Guhilot kingdom was only a stepping stone to Jaitrasimha's

18. I.A., Vol.VI, p.198.

ultimate object, which could not be achieved without waging war against his rivals viz., the Paramaras of - 19
Abu, Chaulukyas of Gujarat, and Paramaras of Malava.
The Chahamanas King, Udayaditya (1206 A.D. - 1248 A.D.),
the grandson of Kirtipala of Nadaula of (Marwar)
understood Jaitrasinha's intention, and wasted no
time in attacking the Guhilot kingdom. But the
Chahamanas King received a severe setback and was
obliged to give his grand daughter, Rupadevi, in
marriage to the Guhilot prince Tejasinha. This
success of Jaitrasinha over the Chahamanas alarmed
the Chaulukyas and Paramaras. The Chaulukya ruler,
Kanaka Tribhuvanapala, successor of Bhimadeva II
penetrated his arms into the southern territories

19. E.I., Vol.XXII, pp.285-88.

20. E.I., Vol.IV, pp.313-14.

of the Guhilots in 1242 A.D. and captured the
Guhilot fort Kottadaka²¹. But Jaitrasimha spared
no energy to expel the Chaulukyas out of the
Guhilot kingdom. Now Jaitrasimha turned to measure
swords with the Paramaras of Malava. The
Paramara king Jayatungadeva, son of Devapala,
was probably not unprepared. He despatched his
forces to curb the rising power of the Guhilots
in 1247 A.D. But the battle between the Paramaras
and Guhilots at the Guhilot fortress Arthuna
ended in a decisive victory for the latter in
1247 A.D. Thus, the weak rulers - Udayaditya
Chahamanas, Tribhuvanapala Chaulukya, and Jayatungadeva
Paramara - failed signally in their schemes of

21. E.I., Vol.XXII, pp.285-88.

conquest over the Guhilot kingdom, and the Guhilots under the strong rule of Jaitrasimha emerged as the strongest power. Jaitrasimha played a prominent part in bringing about the downfall of his contemporary Kshatriya rulers. This tragic quarrel between Guhilots and another neighbouring dynasties was very unfortunate for the future course of the history of this part of India. Towards the close of Jaitrasimha's reign sometime in 1253 A.D., Sultan Nasir-ud-din's general, Balban marched against the Kshatriya kings of Rajputana and carried his arms as far as the Guhilot kingdom²². No doubt Balban succeeded in his attempts but his campaign against Jaitrasimha was not as spectacular as his other successes and his invasion was not fully crowned with success. He

22. Raverty: *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Vol.II, p.828.

had to undertake a second expedition after twenty two years in 1285 A.D.

Jaitrasimha was succeeded by his son Tejasimha who inherited a position which had been strongly founded by his father. Inscriptions of Tejasimha (1253 A.D. - 1273 A.D.) show that he was endowed with full royal titles, Parama Bhattaraka Maharajadhiraja Paramesvara²³. During his reign Visaladeva, the Baghela king of Dholka marched against Tejasimha in 1261 A.D. but owing to his engagement in a triangular fight with the Paramaras of Malava and the Hoyasalas, the Baghela king wasted his resources in a frenzied scramble. This victory over the Baghelas, placed the supremacy of the Guhilot power beyond question. Tejasimha's son and successor,

23. Peterson's third Report, p.23; H.R., Vol.I, p.473, f.n.4.

Samarasimha enjoyed a peaceful reign of twenty years from 1273 A.D. to 1302 A.D. During his reign the Guhilot kingdom grew to enormous dimensions and became the centre of culture and crafts, power and politics and religion and riches. During the 13th century A.D. the Chahamanas, Gahadavalas and the Chaulukyas had succumbed to the Muslim invaders. The term of the Guhilots came in 1303 A.D., when the fort of Chitoda fell to Alau-d-din Khalji and Ratnasimha died. Ratnasimha's successor Hammira, (1303 A.D. - 1364 A.D.), however, succeeded in winning back the fort of Chitoda from the Muslims within twenty three years and continued to rule as an independent king. In 1325 A.D. Hammira boldly resisted another Muslim attack on his kingdom and he succeeded to recover Chitoda from the Muslims. By 1325 A.D. large

24. Bomb. ASS.J., Vol. 23, p. 50.

parts of the Rathor territories in Murn were
 annexed by Hammira²⁵. He also extended his kingdom²⁶
 on the northern side by conquering Prailadanapur
 from the Paramaras of Abu and capturing Chelakhyapura²⁷
 (Jilwada) and Dainsrodha²⁸ (Marwar). By 1346 A.D.
 Hammira won a powerful position for himself and
 recovered the lost territories of the Guhilots who
 continued to rule in Medapata for a fairly long time.

In the arts of administration the Guhilot
 government was fairly developed. The head of the state
 and administration was the king, who was assisted by a
 council of ministers (Pradhana, Sandhivigraha,
 Senani and Mahamatyas) and other officers (Pratihara,
 Sutradhara, Akshapatalika, Bhisagadhiraja, Kayasthas,
 Vandipati, Eottapalas²⁹). The Guhilot kings issued coins

25. H.R., Vol. II, p. 549; B.I., p. 119.

26. H.R., Vol. II, p. 550.

27. B.I., p. 125.

28. E.I., Vol. XI, pp. 63-64.

29. B.I., pp. 68-69.

- 30

(Dramma, Kupaka and Arshayana) of gold, silver and copper throughout the kingdom. The Mandalas and towns were administered by the Mahamandalasvaras (Governors) and Talashasmas respectively who exercised much powers in the affairs of the government.

From this summary of their history it is clear that the part played by the Gunilots in the political history of Western India was by no means a small one.

C - SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GUNILOTS

A study of the Gunilot records dispels many misconceptions about the descent of the Gunilots which

prevail in the minds of some scholars. There are people who are inclined to trace Guhilot origin to Brahmanas, Persians and Kushans. But, as we have seen in our chapter on their origin, the Guhilots are to be traced to the most distinguished race of the solar Kshatriyas. The Guhilots were ever conscious of their social prestige and the inscriptions state that they ever formed matrimonial relations with suitable ladies of equal caste, who sprang from other Kshatriya families. There is only one exception in the case of Allata who married a princess of Huna stock. The standard of living of the Brahmanas, Kshatriyas and Vaishnyas in the Guhilot society was fairly high and it reached a level of some magnificence among kings. A high level of economic prosperity prevailed generally among the people and the capital cities (Ahada, Nagada and Chitoda) of the Guhilot

kingdom were the vital centres of trade and commerce. In the religious field, the contribution of the Guhilots is very important. Far from a relation of mutual hatred and jealousy, one of the most outstanding features of the Guhilots was their wonderful spirit of religious tolerations. Epigraphic evidence shows that the Guhilots tolerated all creeds, preached toleration and even went to the extent of patronising sects other than their own. We have seen in our chapter on religion that the followers of Jainism and Shaivism not only lived in harmony but both were equally respected by the Guhilot kings - Tejasimha and Samrasimha who made gifts simultaneously to Jain and Shaiva temples. Queen Jayatimaladevi, wife of Tejasimha built a temple of Jain Tirthankara Parswanathaji in Calitosa.

In the cultural affairs, especially in architecture the Guhilots' contribution is very

significant. From the middle of the eighth century A.D. the Guhilots began to contribute to early medieval architecture. Bappa constructed a magnificent temple of Ekalingaji in Nagada in the beginning of the reign. The temples and forts of Anada and Chitoda are really valuable contribution to the richness of Medapata.

In the end a few words may be said on the trend of events in North-western India from the middle of the sixth century A.D. to the close of the 14th century A.D. A serious study of the history of the period, reveals that it was an age of struggles among the various contemporary dynasties. The object of these struggles was the establishment of another imperial power after the fall of the imperial Guptas. For a while one of the dynasties achieved its ambition, but only to lose it again to a coalition among the

other dynasties whose independence was challenged. It is strange that the Kshatriya dynasties which could combine so well against another strong dynasty, did not or could not combine their forces against the Muslims. It is significant that the Guhilots did not plunge into the struggle for supremacy. The result was that they could enjoy an independent position for more than eight hundred years and never acknowledged suzerainty of any other royal dynasty.

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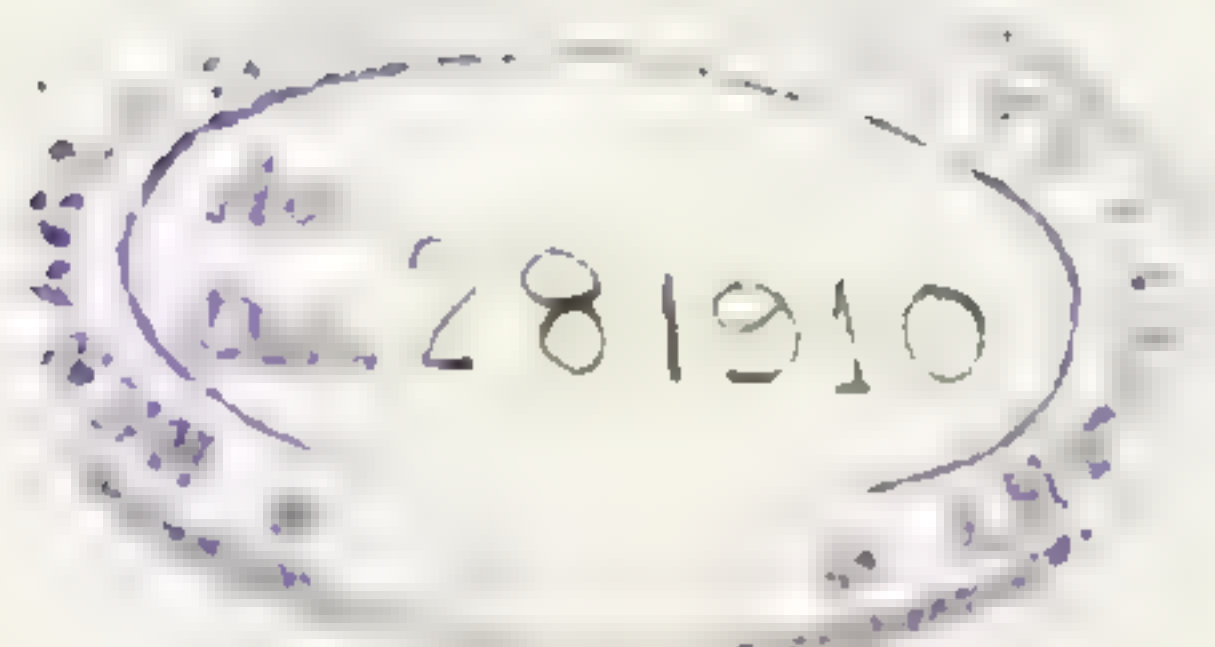
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HISTORY OF THE GUHILOTS

(FROM C. 550 A.D. TO C. 1364 A.D.)

BY

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CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

A - GEOGRAPHICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE GUHILOT KINGDOM

The Guhilot dynasty arose in the middle of the sixth century A.D. and survived as an independent royal family for more than eight hundred years in the southern Rajputana (Medapata). In assessing the importance of the Guhilots in relation to the history of India in general and to the history of Rajputana in particular we must first consider the geographical importance of the region over which they ruled.

Southern Rajputana most commonly described as Medapata in the Guhilot inscriptions and literature is practically a plateau of the Aravallis. The uneven earth-crust of this region is caused by the gradual decomposition of the rocks and contains a higher percentage of sands and

gravels. The hills and forests excited high degree of daring and courage in the Guhilots and transformed them into a warlike people struggling hard between life and death, ever prepared to meet their end smiling with almost no hesitation. The history of the Guhilot dynasty stubbornly affirms that so long as the Guhilots lived upto their ideals they were never pressed hard by their enemies nor were they subdued by the victor in humiliation in the fields of battle but on the contrary they have constantly defied the storms of the foreign incursions with a spirit of constancy and endurance to which the history of the world hardly affords any parallel.

The position of the Guhilots was further strengthened by the possession of the important and almost inaccessible forts of Chitoda, Ahada, Kelavada,

1. D.I.,p.124.

2. I.A.,Vol.39,p.186.

3. B.I.,p.125.

and Arthuna⁴. The importance of these forts to the Guhilot kingdom is clearly evident from the history of the dynasty.

In spite of all its advantages, the geographical position of the Guhilot kingdom had, however, a great disadvantage. It was very difficult for the ruler of such a region to administer the whole kingdom from one capital, owing to problems of communication, and the security of the kingdom depended almost entirely on the forts of Chitoda and Ahada which were raised as the secondary centres of administration. Moreover, the hilly tribes of the region⁵ often caused trouble in the kingdom and the reference to the subjugation of the Sabaras and Bhilae⁵ in a Guhilot inscription indicates a lack of strong local administration in

4. E.I., Vol.XXII, p.265.

5. B.I., p.62. (Rasiāji's Canatri Inscription of 1274 A.D.)

outlying districts. The resounding success of the Paramaras in the south-east during the reign of Munjaraja in 996 A.D. and the success of Kirtipala Chahamanas of Naddula in 1179 A.D. in the north-west can partially be attributed to the failure of the Guhilots to build up a strong defence on their frontiers.

B - POLITICAL: ROLE OF THE GUHILOTS IN POLITICAL HISTORY

By the middle of the sixth century A.D. the Gupta empire was crumbling and the Guptas could not play any further important part in northern India. The Hunas who under the leadership of Toramana overwhelmed the western and central parts of India in the beginning of the sixth century A.D., were completely suppressed by Janendra Yashodharmana of Malava in 532 A.D.⁶ This

6. C.I.I., Vol.III, No.33, pp.146, 148.

afforded golden opportunities to a large number of dynasties like the Maithrakas of Valabhi, Maikharis, of Kanauj, Chahamanas of Shakambhari, Chaulukyas of Gujarat and Guhilots of Medapata who reaped a rich harvest out of the prevailing confusion and suddenly leaped from obscurity to political importance. The Guhilot ruler, Guhila made best use of the situation and built a strong kingdom in the Southern Rajputana. After the conquest of the great fort of Chitoda by Bappa in the beginning of the eighth century A.D., the Guhilot kingdom saw its palmy days

The decline of the Pratiharas during the reign of Mahendrapala II paved the way for the

7. E.I., Vol. XIV, pp. 176-186 ff. (The Partabgarh Inscription of Mahendrapala II dated 948 A.D.).

expansion of the Guhilot kingdom in the north-east and the Guhilot king Bhatribhata II (942 A.D.-951 A.D.)⁸ extended his sway upto Ghontavarsika which was situated on the south-western frontiers of the Pratihara empire. This brought the Pratiharas in conflict with the Guhilot ruler Allata (951 A.D.-971 A.D.),⁹ who inscription claims victories over the former .

Among the princes of the various dynasties that were (struggling to capture the sceptre of the effete Pratihara princes¹⁰ the Guhilot ruler, Bhaktikumara (977 A.D. - 996 A.D.) played no minor part in the struggle. There is no doubt that Bhaktikumara inherited a position which had been strongly founded by Bhatribhata II (942 A.D. - 951 A.D.) and Allata (951 A.D. - 971 A.D.) .

8. E.A., Vol. XIV, pp. 176-188 ff.

9. H.A., Vol. I, p. 428.

10. D.H.M.I., Vol. II, p. 1212.

But before the Guhilots could firmly establish themselves as the strong power in northern India, they had to contest with the Paramaras of Malava who under the leadership of Munjaraja inflicted a crushing defeat over the former. In 995 A.D. Munjaraja succeeded in his attempts and his nephew Bhoja (1010 A.D. - 1055 A.D.) wielded considerable influence over the Guhilot Kingdom.¹¹ The failure of Shaktikumara was very unfortunate. It afforded splendid opportunity to the Shakambhari Chahamanra ruler, Vakapatirajall who taking advantage of the situation killed the Guhilot king, Ambaprasada, the son and successor of Shaktikumara. Thus the Guhilot prestige received

11. E.I., Vol. XXII, p. 288.

a severe set back and the Guhilots were confronted by two powerful enemies - the Chahamanas and Paramaras in the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. During the eleventh century A.D. the Guhilots not only lost the initiative in the struggle for supremacy, but also virtually lost their independence to the Paramaras, who were then the dominant power in western India. The accession of Vijayasimha in 1108 A.D. to the Guhilot throne was marked by a revival of the Guhilot power and the decline of the Paramaras. Vijayasimha revived the social prestige of the Guhilots by forming matrimonial relations with the houses of the Paramaras¹² and Kalachuris¹³. These alliances between the Paramaras, Kalachuris and Guhilots stood as a stumbling block against the

12. E.I., Vol.II, p.12; H.N., Vol.I, p.444.

13. H.N., Vol.I, p.444; E.I., Vol.II, p.12.

Chaulukyas who under strong rule of Jayasimhasiddharaja (1094 A.D. - 1144 A.D.) emerged as the strongest power in western India. Vijayasinha could not establish the Guhilots as the supreme power in western India though he provided an opportunity for his successors to consolidate their position.

The reign of Samantasinha (1171 A.D. - 1178 A.D.) once again revived Guhilot hopes of gaining supremacy over other dynasties and establishing their power in western India. Samantasinha tried to extend the Guhilot kingdom in all directions. The consequence of such an expansion was obvious, Samantasinha came in conflict with the Chaulukyas¹⁴ of Gujarat and Paramaras of Abu.¹⁵

14. I.A., Vol.LIII, p.101.

15. E.I., Vol.VIII, p.211; B.I., p.108.

No doubt Samantasimha succeeded in defeating the confederate forces of the Chaulukyas and Paramaras in 1174 A.D., but his victory over Ajayapala, the Chaulukya ruler was not fully crowned with success. The Chaulukyas spared no energy to avenge their defeat at the hands of Samantasimha and summoned Kirtipala, the Chahamanra ruler of Naddula against the Guhilots. Kirtipala wasted no time in attacking the Guhilot kingdom. Samantasimha was also not unprepared, but his ambition received a severe setback, when Kirtipala inflicted a crushing defeat over the Guhilots in 1178 A.D.

By The year 1178 A.D. was marked by the renewal of Muslim invasion under Monammad Ghori over Gujarat. This alarming situation compelled the Chaulukya ruler Bhimadeva¹⁷ to unite himself with Guhilot bonds of friendship. A united effort of the Guhilots and Chaulukyas at once succeeded in casting the Chahamanas from the Guhilot kingdom. The Guhilots made the best use of the situation and soon revived the glory of their dynasty.

During the reign of Kumarasimha's grandson, Padmasimha, the Guhilots gathered considerable force and built up a strong military power. Padmasimha was succeeded by his son Jaitrasimha, (1215 A.D. - 1258 A.D.) who was

17. The Glory that was Gurjaradesa, Vol.III, p.184.

undoubtedly the most powerful prince of his time. Jaitrasimha realised that a fight with the Muslims was inevitable for extending his kingdom on the north-western side. In 1226 A.D. he drove back the forces of Anavas Khan¹⁸ a general of Jalaluddin, Shah of Khwarizm who sought to penetrate into western India through the Guhilot territories. During the long reign of Jaitrasimha (1215 A.D.- 1255 A.D.) the Guhilots successfully resisted the Muslim attacks at a time when they seemed irresistible. In 1233 A.D. he succeeded in repulsing the invasions of Iltutmish, the Sultan of Delhi. The successful attempt, to stop the Muslim raids over Guhilot kingdom was only a stepping stone to Jaitrasimha's

18. I.A., Vol.VI,p.198.

ultimate object, which could not be achieved without waging war against his rivals viz., the Paramaras of - 19
Abu, Chaulukyas of Gujarat, and Paramaras of Malava.
The Chahamana King, Udayaditya (1206 A.D. - 1248 A.D.),
the grandson of Kirtipala of Nadaula of (Marwar)
understood Jaitrasinha's intention, and wasted no
time in attacking the Guhilot kingdom. But the
Chahamana King received a severe setback and was
obliged to give his grand daughter, Rupadevi, in
marriage to the Guhilot prince Tejasinha. This
success of Jaitrasinha over the Chahamanas alarmed
the Chaulukyas and Paramaras. The Chaulukya ruler,
Kanaka Tribhuvanapala, successor of Bhimadeva II
penetrated his arms into the southern territories

19. E.I., Vol.XXII, pp.285-88.

20. E.I., Vol.IV, pp.313-14.

of the Guhilots in 1242 A.D. and captured the
Guhilot fort Kottadaka²¹. But Jaitrasimha spared
no energy to expel the Chaulukyas out of the
Guhilot kingdom. Now Jaitrasimha turned to measure
swords with the Paramaras of Malava. The
Paramara king Jayatungadeva, son of Devapala,
was probably not unprepared. He despatched his
forces to curb the rising power of the Guhilots
in 1247 A.D. But the battle between the Paramaras
and Guhilots at the Guhilot fortress Arthuna
ended in a decisive victory for the latter in
1247 A.D. Thus, the weak rulers - Udayaditya
Chahamanas, Tribhuvanapala Chaulukya, and Jayatungadeva
Paramara - failed signally in their schemes of

21. E.I., Vol.XXII, pp.285-88.

conquest over the Guhilot kingdom, and the Guhilots under the strong rule of Jaitrasimha emerged as the strongest power. Jaitrasimha played a prominent part in bringing about the downfall of his contemporary Kshatriya rulers. This tragic quarrel between Guhilots and another neighbouring dynasties was very unfortunate for the future course of the history of this part of India. Towards the close of Jaitrasimha's reign sometime in 1253 A.D., Sultan Nasir-ud-din's general, Balban marched against the Kshatriya kings of Rajputana and carried his arms as far as the Guhilot kingdom²². No doubt Balban succeeded in his attempts but his campaign against Jaitrasimha was not as spectacular as his other successes and his invasion was not fully crowned with success. He

22. Raverty: *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Vol.II, p.828.

had to undertake a second expedition after twenty two years in 1285 A.D.

Jaitrasimha was succeeded by his son Tejasimha who inherited a position which had been strongly founded by his father. Inscriptions of Tejasimha (1253 A.D. - 1273 A.D.) show that he was endowed with full royal titles, Parama Bhattaraka Maharajadhiraja Paramesvara²³. During his reign Visaladeva, the Baghela king of Dholka marched against Tejasimha in 1261 A.D. but owing to his engagement in a triangular fight with the Paramaras of Malava and the Hoyasalas, the Baghela king wasted his resources in a frenzied scramble. This victory over the Baghelas, placed the supremacy of the Guhilot power beyond question. Tejasimha's son and successor,

23. Peterson's third Report, p.23; H.R., Vol.I, p.473, f.n.4.

Samarasimha enjoyed a peaceful reign of twenty years from 1273 A.D. to 1302 A.D. During his reign the Guhilot kingdom grew to enormous dimensions and became the centre of culture and crafts, power and politics and religion and riches. During the 13th century A.D. the Chahamanas, Gahadavalas and the Chaulukyas had succumbed to the Muslim invaders. The term of the Guhilots came in 1303 A.D., when the fort of Chitoda fell to Alau-d-din Khalji and Ratnasimha died. Ratnasimha's successor Hammira, (1303 A.D. - 1364 A.D.), however, succeeded in winning back the fort of Chitoda from the Muslims within twenty three years and continued to rule as an independent king. In 1325 A.D. Hammira boldly resisted another Muslim attack on his kingdom and he succeeded to recover Chitoda from the Muslims. By 1325 A.D. large

24. Bomb. ASS.J., Vol. 23, p. 50.

parts of the Rathor territories in Murn were
annexed by Hammira²⁵. He also extended his kingdom²⁶
on the northern side by conquering Prahladanapur
from the Paramaras of Abu and capturing Chelakhyapura²⁷
(Jilwada) and Dainsrodha²⁸ (Marwar). By 1346 A.D.
Hammira won a powerful position for himself and
recovered the lost territories of the Guhilots who
continued to rule in Medapata for a fairly long time.

In the arts of administration the Guhilot
government was fairly developed. The head of the state
and administration was the king, who was assisted by a
council of ministers (Pradhana, Sandhivigraha,
Senani and Mahamatyas) and other officers (Pratihara,
Sutradhara, Akshapatalika, Bhisagadhiraja, Kayasthas,
Vandipati, Eottapalas²⁹). The Guhilot kings issued coins

25. H.R., Vol. II, p. 549; B.I., p. 119.

26. H.R., Vol. II, p. 550.

27. B.I., p. 125.

28. E.I., Vol. XI, pp. 63-64.

29. B.I., pp. 68-69.

- 30

(Dramma, Kupaka and Arshayana) of gold, silver and copper throughout the kingdom. The Mandalas and towns were administered by the Mahamandalesvaras (Governors) and Talukas respectively who exercised much powers in the affairs of the government.

From this summary of their history it is clear that the part played by the Gunilots in the political history of Western India was by no means a small one.

C - SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GUNILOTS

A study of the Gunilot records dispels many misconceptions about the descent of the Gunilots which

prevail in the minds of some scholars. There are people who are inclined to trace Guhilot origin to Brahmanas, Persians and Kushans. But, as we have seen in our chapter on their origin, the Guhilots are to be traced to the most distinguished race of the solar Kshatriyas. The Guhilots were ever conscious of their social prestige and the inscriptions state that they ever formed matrimonial relations with suitable ladies of equal caste, who sprang from other Kshatriya families. There is only one exception in the case of Allata who married a princess of Huna stock. The standard of living of the Brahmanas, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas in the Guhilot society was fairly high and it reached a level of some magnificence among kings. A high level of economic prosperity prevailed generally among the people and the capital cities (Ahada, Nagada and Chitoda) of the Guhilot

kingdom were the vital centres of trade and commerce. In the religious field, the contribution of the Guhilots is very important. Far from a relation of mutual hatred and jealousy, one of the most outstanding features of the Guhilots was their wonderful spirit of religious tolerations. Epigraphic evidence shows that the Guhilots tolerated all creeds, preached toleration and even went to the extent of patronising sects other than their own. We have seen in our chapter on religion that the followers of Jainism and Shaivism not only lived in harmony but both were equally respected by the Guhilot kings - Tejasimha and Samarasimha who made gifts simultaneously to Jain and Shiva temples. Queen Jayatalladevi, wife of Tejasimha built a temple of Jain Tirthankara Parshwanathaji in Chitoda.

In the cultural affairs, especially in architecture the Guhilots' contribution is very

significant. From the middle of the eighth century A.D. the Guhilots began to contribute to early medieval architecture. Bappa constructed a magnificent temple of Ekalingaji in Nagada in the beginning of the reign. The temples and forts of Anada and Chitoda are really valuable contribution to the richness of Medapata.

In the end a few words may be said on the trend of events in North-western India from the middle of the sixth century A.D. to the close of the 14th century A.D. A serious study of the history of the period, reveals that it was an age of struggles among the various contemporary dynasties. The object of these struggles was the establishment of another imperial power after the fall of the imperial Guptas. For a while one of the dynasties achieved its ambition, but only to lose it again to a coalition among the

other dynasties whose independence was challenged. It is strange that the Kshatriya dynasties which could combine so well against another strong dynasty, did not or could not combine their forces against the Muslims. It is significant that the Guhilots did not plunge into the struggle for supremacy. The result was that they could enjoy an independent position for more than eight hundred years and never acknowledged suzerainty of any other royal dynasty.